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TRAVELS IN HINDUSTHAN

OR

THE HISTORY OF THE LATE
REVOLUTION OF THE DOMINIONS
OF THE GREAT MOGOL.

FROM 1655 TO 1661.

BY

FRANCOIS BERNIER M. D.

Late Physician to the Great Mogul.

AS TRANSLATED BY HENRY OULDINBURGH
IN 1684.

Edited from the Original with an Elaborate
Index, Glossary and Appendices.

Printed and Published
by N. Roy, Bangabasi Press.

38½ Bhowbani Charan Dutt's Street, Calcutta..

Price Rs. 5 five only -n

PREFACE

Of all the European travellers who visited India in the seventeenth century, the name and fame of François Bernier stand almost unrivalled. He was the first traveller who succeeded in bringing home to his countrymen—nay to the people of all Europe—vast and various informations of the ‘Gorgeous East,’ a realm almost unknown to them all. Actuated by an inordinate love of travelling in foreign countries and an excessive desire to know the men and manners of the then known world, he set out on his journey and delineated all that he saw and heard in his sojourn, with a masterly pen. His sketches and descriptions are marked by an acuteness of reasoning and exuberance of illustrations never to be met with in any of his erudite contemporaries. His works are more critical than inventive and are even now regarded by some European savants as the model of exactitude. He inherited from Gassendi, his tutor, his powers of acquisition, acuteness of logical reasoning, and liveliness of imagination, which are reflected in almost every page his voluminous “Travels.” Hence the eagerness with which his works were read as soon as they had been published, spread from one end of Europe to the other. His first edition was published in Paris in 1670, in two volumes, and during his life-time he saw no less than ten different editions in different languages. This shows with what avidity his works were read by the Europeans of his time. Even

to this day the historian draws his material from Bernier's "Travels." The English translation of his work appeared in London in 1671. It created so much noise there that the mighty pen of the then premier poet, Dryden, was influenced to write a Tragedy of Aurangzeb, many striking passages of which are mere paraphrases of the text of this eminent traveller. The scholars of France, England, Holland, Belgium, Germany and Italy were indebted to him for their informations about the pomp and power of the gay Court of Agra. In fact, this book played an important part in making the East known to the West.

To the Indians, this book has two fold interest. It gives a true and detailed account of their fatherland when the Mogul power was at its zenith, the Rajput chivalry was burning at the very socket, and the society was immune from the onslaught of the haughty civilization, which has of late begun to operate upon the trend of their thought and thereby disturb the internal arrangements of their social organism. Secondly the book would give them an idea as to how their forefathers stood in the estimation of the then Europeans, who, by their very nature and education, were unable to penetrate deep into the mysteries of the Hindu thought and civilization. An elaborate discussion on this head will be found in the introduction of this edition which, we hope, will repay perusal.

Bernier wrote his book in the French language, which has since undergone a great change. Hence his original work is a sealed book to many of us. We have therefore published the very rare translation of

Henry Ouldinburgh, published in 1684, without any change in its antiquated diction and spelling etc., but printed it as we have found it. Many publishers and editors of the old authors think it convenient to mutilate the original and thereby mar its inherent literary beauty. Such works of Vandalism do not fit in with our notion of decency and propriety. We look upon with the same regard the sanctity which hedges in an old author, as we look upon the sanctity of old tombs and monuments. Both are inviolable by their very nature and for the sacred associations which they carry with them. To the scholars such unmeaning change is reprehensible for various reasons. It offers an appreciable hindrance to the study of the growth of the language in all its aspects, namely the orthography, etymology and syntax. We have therefore thought it proper not to tamper with even the orthography of this old writer of the 17th century. Everything has been kept intact as has been found in our original. For the convenience of the general reader, we have appended an exhaustive glossary, index and an elaborate introduction which will help him much in the right understanding of this old and highly interesting book.

February
1904



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INTRODUCTION.

LIFE AND WORKS OF FRANCOIS BERNIER.

In the year 1620 Francois Bernier was born at Joue, a small village in the province of Anjou, in France. His parents were known neither to fame or fortune and managed some how or other to earn out their honest livelihood by tilling the soil. The parish record shows that he was baptized on 26th September, 1620. The early life of this peasant boy is shrouded in impervious mystery, into which the searchlights of the last two centuries have not been able to penetrate. The only thing known of his early career is that he learned Physiology at the feet of professor Pierri Gassendi, the well known philosopher of Provence. Bernier was matriculated at the University of Montepellier in 1652, passed his examination as Licentiate in Medicine and then took his degree as a Doctor of Medicine on the 26th of August of the same year. It may be obviously presumed that he was gifted with a strong passion for travelling in foreign countries. He was born at a time when Europe was making new exploitations in various parts of the world, and its adventurous travellers were filling the atmosphere with many cock and bull stories, which inflamed his juvenile mind to see the "realms afar." It is known that he had visited North Germany, Poland and Switzerland even before he was matriculat-

ed. In 1654 he visited Palestine and Syria, but soon returned to his mother country to see his beloved tutor, Professor Gassendi, in his death bed. But unfortunately Gassendi died in his arms^d on the 24th of October 1655 and his death was deeply mourned by this illustrious pupil. To Gassendi, Bernier owed his powers of accurate observation, perspicuity and acumen which placed him far above the common run of travellers. He recorded his sense of gratitude to his professor in his letter to Mr. Chaplain (Vide page 326-27 of this book) from which we come to know that he was introduced to professor Gassendi by Monsieur Chappele. The circumstances under which he sought the tutelage of that eminent philosopher are still hidden in darkness.

In 1656 Bernier started for Egypt and resided at Rosette where he became the guest of the French Vice-consul M. de Bermon. During his stay there, some persons died of plague and Bermon also had an attack of the same disease. Bernier attended him as a physician and prescribed butter of antimony—now called sublimated muriate of antimony—and operated his abscess, which brought his host-patient round. Bernier himself caught the contagion but escaped almost scot-free, by a judicious use of the emetic, at the very commencement of the attack. This account gives rise to the question whether the disease was identical with the same disease which has of late been christened as the Bubonic Plague and which has been decimating India for the last six or seven years. We learn from M. Bernier that the disease was both infectious and contagious and

also that one of its marked symptoms was the swelling of an abcess or bubo. We also learn from the same authority that the virulence of the disease abated after the fall of "goute" or dew. Now too, we see that the virulence of the pestilence subsides after rainfall. Hence we surmise that the Egyptian malady described by Bernier bore a striking resemblance to the Bubonic Plague of our own time. But we leave this question open for the antiquarians and medical experts to decide.

We then come to know from his own writings, that after being cured of the fatal disease, he resided at Grand Cairo for a period of one year. From Cairo he went to Jedda and thence to Moka. He then intended to visit Abyssinia but afterwards the project was abandoned, and he set out for India in 1658—as agent to the famous French Minister, Colbert, who gave great attention to maritime interest of his country,—and reached Surat after a voyage of twenty-two days.

When Bernier reached India, he saw that the whole country was being convulsed by the throes of intestine quarrels between the refractory sons of Shah Jehan. Anarchy and disorder prevailed throughout the length and breadth of this vast empire. Dara, the eldest son of Shah Jehan, being defeated by Aurangzeb at the battle of Deora, near Ajmere, fled towards Ahamedabad and on his way, he met M. Bernier, whose fame as a physician even then spread far and wide. Now it happened that one of the wives of Dara had been suffering from an attack of Erysipelas in one of her legs; Dara immediately engaged this eminent physician for her treatment. But the Gover-

nor of Ahmedabad having declared for Aurangzebe, this unfortunate prince was compelled to fly towards Sind. In the hot haste of this precipitous flight under the scorching rays of the tropical sun, the oxen, which drew the carriage of Bernier, completely broke down, and Dara, being unable to procure for him any suitable conveyance, left him to his fate and made off towards Sind under the cover of the darkness of night. Bernier being left behind, was harassed by robbers, (p. 88.) but succeeded in saving his life and properties by his neverfailing presence of mind. However he eventually succeeded in reaching Ahmedabad where he met with a Mogul nobleman, who was proceeding to Dehli. Bernier threw himself under his protection and with him reached Dehli, *viz* Agra, in 1663.

Having arrived at Dehli, he was "obliged to take a salary from the Grand Mogul in the quality of a physician and a little after from Danechmend Khan the most knowing man in Asia." The real name of this Mahometan gentleman, whom Bernier, calls Danechmend Khan, was Mahammad Safi or Mulla Safi on whom the proud title of "Danechmend Khan" or "learned warrior," was conferred by Shah Jehan, as a recognition of the meritorious services rendered by him to the state. In the reign of Aurangzeb the dignity of this gentleman was further raised, and he was appointed the Governor of Shahjehanabad or new Dehli where he died in 1670. Through the influence of this gentleman, Bernier made himself acquainted with every nook and corner of the court-life of Agra and Dehli. Thus he had special opportunities of knowing the love-intrigues of the royal seraglio and other events of

the time, which none of his occidental compatriots possessed. The reader may find them in pages 9 to 12 of this edition. One of the love-intrigues of the eldest daughter of Shah Jehan has thus been related by Bernier. Dame Rumour had it "that her own father loved her to that degree, as is hardly to be imagined." In spite of the strong guards which constantly kept watch over the Mogul seraglio, this princess used to receive lovers into her apartments. One day, as she was amusing herself with one of her lovers, the jealous father put in his unwelcome appearance there, and the amorous daughter found no other place to conceal her lover, except in one of the hot-water caldrons made to bathe in. The wily Emperor feigned to see nothing, and after entertaining her for a long while, he sternly ordered to build a fire beneath the caldron and did not leave the place till the unfortunate Lothario was boiled alive. Stories like those shew that this French physician had some exceptional opportunities to study the court life of Agra.

From Delhi Bernier wrote his letter to M. de la Mothe le Vayer (page 221). In 1664 Aurang-zeb started for Kashmire (Kachemire as he has spelt it) and Bernier accompanied the imperial party. which reached Lahore on February 25th of 1665, and halted there for sometime ; thus giving this favourite agent of Colbert ample opportunities of studying the men and manners of the then Punjab. Some graphic accounts of his visit to the Punjab and Kashmire were then written in epistolary forms (vide page 327 and infra). The sublime and beautiful of natural scenery and gorgeous paraphernalia of a touring Mogul Emperor have been exactly described in these beautiful letters. Many of the places described

by Bernier still remain the same, after the lapse of some two centuries and a half. Having returned to Agra from Kashmire, he started for Bengal accompanied by the celebrated French traveller Jean Baptiste Tavernier on the 25th of November, 1665, and reached Rajmahal on the 4th of January 1666, after visiting Allum Chand, Allahabad, Beneres, Patna and other notable cities. On the 6th Bernier parted company with Tavernier and started for Cossimbazar. After a brief sojourn in Bengal, he left for Muslipatam and thence he went to Golkonda, where he heard that Shah Jehan had died on the 22nd of January 1666 (page 178) From Golkonda he went to Surat, whence embarked for Persia,

Just on the eve of his departure from India Bernier met with Sir John Chardin, another celebrated French traveller, at Surat (page 294) This gentleman was born at Paris in 1643 and was in Persia and India in 1665. He was in Surat in 1667 and at that time Bernier happened to see him there. Chardin died in London in 1713. His "Travels in Persia and India" are still valued for their accuracy. On his way home Bernier stopped for some time in Persia.

From Shiraz in Persia, Bernier addressed a letter to Jean Chaplain, a poor poet, on the 4th of October, 1697. describing the superstitions of the Hindus. Here the veteran disciple of prof Gassendi committed an egregious mistake. Few, if any, of the Europeans have as yet been able to make out the true meaning of the religious rites and ceremonies of the Hindus. The Hindus are the most spiritualistic nation on the

face of the globe. A true Hindu does not only live for this world, but for the world to come. To him, this sublunary world, is not a place for the satisfaction of his animal propensities but a vast field for *Karma* for the edification of his soul. Here what a man sows he must reap. Hence every rite, every ceremony, which a true Hindu observes, he does it, not only for the attainment of any worldly bliss, but for the welfare of his soul after death. To him this world is a vain transitory thing, an illusion created by *Maya*, to lead the soul astray from the path of righteousness. He has an implicit confidence in the immortality of the soul, and that confidence is bred in his bones. He believes that every rite, every ceremony, which he has been enjoined to observe by the Shastras, has been revealed to the Rishis of old, by "Yoga," the mysteries of which still lie outside the province of the materialistic science of the West. To the western savants, the System of "Yoga" still appears as a mysterious process, by which human vitality is suspended for a while, and nothing more. This is all that can be expected from them. They are born and bread up in the midst of a civilization which has little to do with pure spiritualism. To them, the worldly enjoyment is the be-all and end-all of their existence. Nature is the sole object of their study, and not the inner man, as is the case with the Hindus. All development is conditioned by the surrounding circumstances. The virility of European nerve and muscle, nurtured by their peculiar climate and haughty civilization, inevitably creates and fosters a materialistic turn of mind, which is

quite incapable of grasping the true meaning of the pure spiritualism of the Hindus. Hence we maintain that the East is East and the West is West, and never the twain shall meet. Our western brethren will remain captured by the "demon of material trafficking," so long as their present conditions and environments shall remain unchanged. They are candid enough to acknowledge that the East is the hearthstone of all religions, but at the same time, they unblushingly assert that the exuberance of Nature has afforded peculiar opportunities to the Easterns for inventing some fantastic notions of religion and religious rites. Such dangerous brittleness' of mental attitude, born of excessive devotion to the material interest, is hard to cure. Hence it is natural for European scholars, like Bernier, to commit gross mistakes in forming an estimation of the Hindus and their religion. To an uninitiated utter foreigner, the Hindu religious rites and observances would ever remain an enigma,—a mystery. Bernier did not know Sanscrit, which he called Hanscrit, an unmistakable proof that he had derived his knowledge of the Hindu Shastras through some Musalman Moulavi, who would call the language of Brahmans—"Shahanscrit" Bernier omitted 'Sha,' and used Hanscrit for Sanscrit. This is why so many mistakes have crept into his writings about the Hindus, their religion, and their superstitions. Hence the readers are warned not to fall into the pitfalls of these absurd mistakes.

Bernier returned to France in 1668 and wrote his work in 1669, a fact which lends an additional value to his works. The native historians had to write every thing under the very nose of their monarchs and hence

they could not write any thing against them. Their narratives are now regarded as representing the official views of the situation. In some cases, the historians did not venture to publish their books during their life-time, and in other instances, as was in the case of Badauni, the family of the authors suffered for the posthumous publications. Bernier did not write for the eye and ear of the monarchs, and had nothing to fear from their displeasure and nothing to hope from the favour, He had no reason to tell any thing but the exact truth. He obtained licence for printing and publishing his book in 1670, visited England in 1685 and died at Paris in 1688, of an apoplectic fit resulting from an excitement, caused by some rude behavior of one of his companions.

February }
1904 }

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THE HEADS OF THE PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF THIS HISTORY

ADDED BY THE ENGLISH INTERPRETER.

1. WHAT depth of policy and craft was used by Aureng-Zebe, the heroes in this history, and the third of the four sons of Chah-Jehan the Great Mogol, to supplant all his brothers, and to settle himself in the throne: and how the first foundation thereof was laid by the Visier of the King of Golkonda, and the sickness of Chah-Jehan the father of Aureng-Zebe.

2. A mixture of love-intrigues, practised by the Princess Begum-Saheb, one of the two daughters of the Great Mogol, Chah-Jehan.

3. How Aureng-Zebe having overcome all his brothers, did secure his father and others, whom he had cause to be jealous of.

4. How the neighbours of the Empire of Mogol demeaned themselves towards the new Emperor, Aureng-Zebe; and what embassies were despatched to him, first by Usbec-Tartars (where a description of that country and people;) then the Dutch of Suratte; as also from Mecca, from Arabia Felix, from Ethiopia and Persia; together with an account of their respective instructions, receptions, entertainments and dismissions; particularly of that of the Hollanders, securing and improving their trade by this their embassie.

5. Aureng-Zebe's singular prudence, and indefatigable pains, in managing the government himself; and how he treated him that endeavoured to persuade him to take his ease and pleasure, now he was established.

6. Aureng-Zebe's distaste against his favourite-sister, Rauchenara-Begum, occasioned by some love-cabals.

7. His great care in appointing a Governor and Tutor to his third son Sultan Ekbar.

8. With what wisdom and severity Aureng-Zebe received and treated his pedantick tutor, who expected to be made a great lord for his former service; together with a model for the suitable education of a great prince, prescribed by Aureng-Zebe on this occasion.

9. In what credit Judiciary Astrology is over all Asia.

10. How the Kings of India make themselves heirs of all the estate of those that dye in their service.

11. Of the reciprocal appearance of kindnesses between Aureng-Zebe and his imprisoned father and sister.

12. What passed between Aureng-Zebe and Emir-Jemla, who had laid the first ground-work to Aureng-Zebe's greatness.

13. What in these revolutions was transacted about the Bay of Bengale and the heathen kingdom of Rakan.

14. How Aureng-Zebe carried himself towards his two eldest sons, Sultan Mahmoud and Sultan Mahum: and how, for a trial of the obedience and

under that chaudron, and he would not part thence, before the eunuchs had brought him word, that that unhappy man was dispatched. Some time after she took other measures she chose for her *kane-saman*, that is, her steward, a certain Persian called Nazerkan, who was a young *omrah*, the handsomest and most accomplished of the whole court; a man of courage and ambition, the darling of all insomuch that Chah-Hestkan, uncle of Aureng-Zebe, proposed to marry him to the princess: but Chah-Jehan received that proposition very ill, and besides, when he was informed of some of the secret intrigues that had been formed, he resolved quickly to rid himself of Nazerkan. He therefore presented to him, as 'twere to do him honour, a *betele*, which he could not refuse to chew presently after the custom of the countrey. Betele is a little knot made up of very delicate leaves, and some other things, with a little chalk of sea-cockles, which maketh the mouth and lips of a vermilion colour, and the breath sweet and pleasing. This young lord thought of nothing less than being poisoned: he went away from the company very jocund and content, into his *paleky*; but the drug was so strong, that before he could come to his house, he was no more alive.

Rauchenara-Begum never passed for so handsome and spiritual as Begum-Saheb, but she was not less cheerful, and comely enough, and hated pleasures no more than her sister. But she addicted her self wholly to Aureng-Zebe, and consequently declared her self an enemy to Begum-Saheb and Dara. This was the cause, that she had no great riches, nor any considerable share in the affairs of the state: nevertheless

as she was in the seraglio, and wanted no wit and spies, she could not but discover many important matters, of which she gave secret advertisement to Aureng-Zebe.

Chah-Jehan, some years before the troubles, finding himself charged with these four priuces, all come to age, all married, all pretending to the crown, enemies to one another, and each of them making secretly a party, was perplexed enough, as to what was fittest for him to do, fearing danger to his own person, and foreseeing what afterwards befell him: for, to shut them up in Goualeor which is a fortress where the princes are ordinarily kept close, and which is held impregnable, it being situated upon an inaccessible rock, and having within it self good water, and provision enough for a garrison; that was not so easie a thing. They were too potent already, each of them having a princely train. And again, he could not handsomly remove them far off, without giving them some government fit for their birth; wherein he apprehended they would cantonize themselves, and become little independent kings, as actually they afterwards did. Nevertheless, fearing lest they should cut one anothers throat before his eyes, if he kept them still at court, he at last concluded to send them away. And so he sent Sultan Sujah, his second son, into the kingdom of Bengale; his third, Aureng-Zebe, into Decan; and the youngest, Morad-Bakche, to Guzaratte; giving to Dara, the eldest, Cabal and Multan. The three first went away very well content with their government, and there they acted each the sovereign, and retained all the revenues of their

respective countries, entertaining great troops, under the pretence of bridling their subjects and neighbours. As to Dara, because the eldest, and designed to the Crown, he stirred* not from the Court ; which that he should not do, seemed also to be the intention of Chah-Jehan, who entertained him in the hopes of succeeding him after his death. He even permitted then, that orders were issued out by him, and that he might sit in a kind of Throne, beneath his, among the *Omraks* ; so that it seemed, as if there were two Kings together. But as 'tis very difficult for two Sovereigns to agree, Chah-Jehan, though Dara shew'd him great observance and affection, always harboured some diffidence, fearing above all things the morsel ; and besides, for as much as he knew the parts of Aureng-Zebe, and thought him more capable to reign than any of the rest, he had always (as they say) some particular correspondence with him.

This it is, what I thought fit to premise concerning these four Princes, and their father Chah-Jehan, because 'tis necessary for the understanding of all that follows. I esteem'd also, that I was not to forget those two Princesses, as having been the most considerable actors in the tragedy ; the women in the Indies taking very often, as well as at Constantinople, and in many other places, the best part in the most important transactions, though men take seldom notice of it, and trouble their heads of seeking for other causes.

But to deliver this history with clearness, we must rise somewhat higher, and relate what passed, some time, before the troubles, between Aureng-Zebe, the King of Golkonda, and his Visier Emir-Jemla ; because

this will discover to us the character and temper of Aureng Zebe and his Visier Emir-Jemla ; because this will discover to us the character and temper of Aureng-Zebe, who is to be the heros of this piece, and the King of the Indies. Let us then see, after what manner Emir-Jemla, proceeded, to lay the first foundation of the royalty of Aureng-Zebe.

During the time that Aureng-Zebe was in Deccan, the King of Golkonda had for his Visier and General of his armies this Emir-Jemla, who was a Persian by nation, and very famous in the Indies. He was not a man of great extraction, but beaten in business, a person of excellent parts, and a great captain. He had the wit of amassing great treasures, not only by the administration of the affairs of this opulent kingdom, but also by navigation and trade, sending ships into very many parts, and causing the diamond mines, which he alone had farmed under many borrowed names, to be wrought with extraordinary diligence. So that people discoursed almost of nothing but of the riches of Emir-Jemla, and of the plenty of his diamonds, which were not reckon'd but by sacks. He had also the skill to render himself very potent and considerable, entertaining, besides the armies of the King, very good troops for his particular, and above all a very good artillery, with a bundance of *Frangays* or Christians to manage it. In a word, he grew so rich, and so puissant, especially after he had found a way to enter into the kingdom of Karnates, and to pillage all the ancient Churches of the idols of that countrey, that the King of Golkonda became jealous of it, and prepared himself to unsaddle him ; and that the more, because he could

not bear what was reported of him, as if he had used too great familiarity with the Queen his mother, that was yet beauteous. Yet he discover'd nothing of his design to any, having patience, and waiting 'till Emir came to the Court, for he was then in the kingdom of Karnates with his army. But one day, when more particular news was brought him of what had passed between his mother and him, he had not power enough to dissemble any longer, but was transported by choler to fall to invectives and menaces: whereof Emir was soon made acquainted, having at the Court abundance of his wives, kindred, and all his nearest relations and best friends possessing the principal offices. The King's mother also, who did not hate him, had speedy information of the same. Which obliged Emir, without delay, to write to his only son, Mahmet Emir-Kan, who then was about the king, requiring him to do the best he could to withdraw with all speed from the Court, under some pretence of hunting, or the like, and to come and join with him. Mahmet Emir-Kan failed not to attempt divers ways; but, the King causing him to be narrowly observed, none of them all would succeed. This very much perplexed Emir, and made him take a strange resolution, which cast the King in great danger to lose his crown and life; so true it is, that "he who knows not to dissemble, knows not how to reign." He writ to Aureng-Zebe, who was then in Daulet-Abad, the capital of Deccan, about fifteen or sixteen days journey from Golkonda, giving him to understand, that the King of Golkonda did intend to ruin him and his family, notwithstanding the signal.

services he had done him, as all the world knew which was an unexampled injustice and ingratitude ; that this necessitated him to take his refuge to him, and to entreat him, that he would receive him into his protection ; that, for the rest, if he would follow his advice, and confide in him, he would so dispose affairs, that he would at once put into his hands both the King and kingdom of Golkonda. This thing he made very easy, using the following discourse : You need but take four or five thousand horse of the best of your army, and to march with expedition to Golkonda, spreading a rumor by the way, that 'tis an ambassador of Chah-Jehan that goes in haste, about considerable matters, to speak with the King at Bag-naguer. The Dabir, who is he that is first to be addressed unto, to make any thing known unto the King, is allied to me, and my creature, and altogether mine ; take care of nothing but to march with expedition, and will so order it, that without making you known, you shall come to the gates of Bag-naguer ; and when the King shall come out to receive the letters, according to custom, you may easily seize on him, and afterwards of all his family, and do with him what shall seem good to you ; in regard that his house of Bag-naguer, where he commonly resides, is unwall'd and unfortified. He added, that he would make this enterprise upon his own charges, offering him fifty thousand Roupies a day (which is about five and twenty thousand Crowns) during the whole time of the march.

Aureng-Zebe, who looked only for some such occasion, had no mind at all to lose so fair an one.

He soon undertook the expedition, and did so fortunately manage his enterprise, that he arrived at Bag-naguer, without being otherwise known than as an ambassador of Chah-Jehan. The King of Golkonda being advertised of the arrival of this pretended ambassador, came forth into a garden, according to custom, received him with honour, and having unfortunately put himself into the hands of his enemy, ten or twelve slaves, *Gargis*, were ready to fall upon and to seize his person, as had been projected: but that a certain *Omrah*, touched with tenderness, could not forbear to cry out, though he was of the party, and a creature of Emir, "Doth not your Majesty see that this is Aureng-Zebe? Away, or you are taken." Whereat the King being afrighted, slips away, and gets hastily on horseback, riding with all his might to the fortress of Golkonda, which is but a short league from thence.

Aureng-Zebe seeing he was defeated in his design, yet was not therefore discomposed; but seized at the same time on the royal house, taketh all the rich and good things he finds there; yet sending to the King all his wives (which over all the Indies is very religiously observed) and goeth to besiege him in his fortress. But as the siege, for want of having brought along all necessaries, held on long, and lasted above two months, he received order from Chah-Jehan to raise it, and to retire into Decan again; so that, although the fortress was reduced to extremities, for want of victuals and ammunition of war, he found himself obliged to abandon his enterprise. He knew very well, that it was Dara and Begum that had in-

duced Chah-Jehan to send these orders, from the apprehension they entertained, that he would become too powerful ; but in the mean time he never discover'd any resentment of it, saying only, that he ought to obey the orders of his father. Yet he withdrew not, without causing under-hand payment to be made to him of all the charges of his expedition : besides, he married his son Sultan Mahmoud to the eldest daughter of that King, with a promise, that he would make him his successor, causing him also to give him for a dowry the fortress and the appurtenances of *Bamguyre*. He also made the King consent, that all the silver money that should be coined for the future in that kingdom, should bear on one side the Arms of Chah-Jehan ; and that Emir-Jemla should withdraw with his whole family, ail his goods, troops, and artillery.

These two great men were not long together, but they framed great designs : on the way they besieged and took Bider, one of the strongest and most important places of Visapour ; and thence they went to Daulet-Abad, where they contracted so intimate a friendship together, that Aureng-Zebe could not live without seeing Emir twice a day, nor Emir without seeing Aureng-Zebe. Their union began to cause a new face in all the affairs of those parts, and laid the first foundations of the royalty of Aureng-Zebe.

This prince having used the art to make himself to be called to the Court divers times, went with great and rich presents to Agra to Chah-Jehan, presenting him his service and inducing him to make war against the King of Golkonda, and him of Visapour, and

against the Portugals. At first he presented to him that great diamond, which is esteem'd matchless ; giving him to understand, that the precious stones of Golkonda were quite other things, than those rocks of Kandahar ; that there it was, where the war ought to be made, to get the possession thereof, and to go as far as Cape-Comory. Chah-Jehan, whether it were that he was dazzled by the diamonds of Emir, or whether he thought it fit, as some believe he did, to have an army in the field, somewhat to restrain Dara, whom he found active in making himself potent, and who with insolence had ill-treated the Visier Sadullah-Kan (whom Chah-Jehan passionately loved, and considered as the greatest Statesman that had been in the Indies) causing him even to be made away with poison, as a man not of his party, but inclined to Sultan Sujah ; or rather, because he found him too powerful and in a condition to be the umpire of the crown, if Chah-Jehan should decease ; or lastly, because being neither Persian. nor of Persian extraction, but an Indian, there were not wanting envious persons, who spread abroad, that he entertained in divers places numerous troops of Patans, very gallant men, and well paid, with a design to make himself King, or his son ; or at least to expel the Mogols, and to restore to the throne the nation of the Patans, of whom he had taken his wife. However it be, Chah-Jehan resolved to send an army towards Decan, under the conduct of Emir-Jemla.

Dara who saw the consequence of this affair, and that the sending of troops for those parts, was to give strength to Aureng-Zebe, opposed it exceedingly and

did what he could to hinder it. Nevertheless, when he saw that Chah-Jehan was resolute for it, he at last thought it best to consent; but with this condition, that Aureng-Zebe should keep in Daulet-Abad, as Governor only of the countrey, without meddling at all in the war, or pretending to govern the army; that Emir should be the absolute General, who for a pledge of his fidelity was to leave his whole family at the Court. Emir struggled enough within himself, whether he should agree to this last condition, but when Chah-Jehan desired him to give that satisfaction to Dara, and promised him, that after a little while he would send him back his wife and children, he consented and marched into Decan towards Aureng-Zebe with a very gallant army, and without any stop entered into Visapour, where he besieged a strong place called Kaliane.

The affairs of Indostan were in that condition, as I have been relating, when Chah-Jehan fell dangerously sick, I shall not speak here of his sickness, much less relate the particular of it. I shall only say this, that it was little suitable to a man of above seventy years of age, who should rather think on preserving his strength than to ruin it, as he did. This sickness did soon alarm and trouble all Indostan. Mighty armies were levied in Dehly and Agra, the capitals of the empire. Sultan Sujah did the like in Bengale, and Aureng-Zebe in Decan, and Mord-Bakche in Guzaratte: all four assembled to themselves their allies and friends; all four write, promise, and form divers intrigues. Dara having surprised some of their letters, shew'd them to Chah-Jehan, and made great noise about them, and his sister Begum failed not to make use of this occa-

sion, to animate the King against them. But Chah-Jehan was diffident of Dara, and fearing to be poisoned gave order, that particular care should be had of what was brought to his table 'Twas also said, that he wrote to Aureng-Zebe ; and that Dara being advertised thereof, could not forbear to menace, and to break into very passionate expressions. In the mean time the distemper of Chah-Jehan lingered, and it was bruited everywhere, that he was dead. Whereupon the whole Court was disordered, the whole town alarmed, the shops for many days shut up ; and the four sons of the King made openly great preparations, each for himself : and to say truth, it was not without reason, that they all made ready for war ; for they all very well knew, that there was no hopes of quarter, that there was no other way, than to vanquish or die, to be King or undone, and that he that should be conqueror would rid himself of all the rest, as formerly Chah-Jehan had done of his brothers. .

Sultan Sujah, who had heaped up great treasures in that rich kingdom of Bengale, ruining some of the Rajas or petty Kings that are in those parts, and drawing great sums from others, took the field first of all with a puissant army, and in the confidence he had of all the Persian *Omrahs*, for the sect of whom he had declared himself he boldly marched towards Agra, giving out openly, that Chah-Jehan was dead, that Dara had poisoned him, that he would revenge the death of his father, and, in a word, that he would be King, Dara desired Chah-Jehan to write himself to him, and to forbid him to advance further ; which he did, assuring him

that his sickness was not at all dangerous, and that he was already much better. But he having friends at Court, who assured him that the sickness of Chah-Jehan was mortal, he dissembled, and ceased not to advance, saying still, that he knew very well Chah-Jehan was dead; and if he should be alive, he was desirous to come and kiss his feet, and to receive his commands.

Aureng-Zebe immediately after, if not at the same time, taketh the field also in Decan, maketh a great noise, and prepareth to march towards Agra. The same prohibition was made to him also, as well from Chah-Jehan, as from Dara, who threatened him. But he dissembleth, for the same reason that Sultan Sujah had done, and giveth the like answer. Mean time, finding that his treasure was low, and his soldiery very inconsiderable, he devised two artifices, which succeeded admirably well; the one, in regard of Morad-Bakche; the other, in respect of Emir-Jemla. To Morad-Bakche he writes with speed a very fair letter, importing, that he had always been his true and intimate friend; that, as for himself, he laid no claim at all to the Crown; that he might remember, he had all his life-time made profession of a fakire, but that Dara was a person incapable to govern a kingdom; that he was a *kafer*, an idolater, and hated of all the greatest *Omrahs*; that Sultan Sujah was *Rafezy*, an heretick and by consequence an enemy to Indostan, and unworthy of the Crown so that, in a word, there was none but he (Morad-Bakche) that could reasonably pretend to the succession; that the Crown did expect him; that

the whole court, which was not ignorant of his valour, would be for him; and that for his particular, if he would promise him, that being King, he would give him leave to live quietly in some corner or other of his empire, there to serve God the remainder of his days, he was ready to make a conjunction with him, to assist him with his counsel and friends, and to put into his hands his whole army, to fight Dara and Sultan Sujah; that in the mean time he sent him an hundred thousand Rupies (which make about fifty thousand Crowns of our money) and prayed him to accept thereof as a pledge of his friendship; and that he would advise him to come with all possible speed to seize on the castle of Surat, where he knew to be the treasure of the land.

Morad-Bakche, who was neither too rich, nor too powerful, received with much joy this proposition of Aureng-Zebe, and the hundred thousand Rupies sent by him; and shew'd Aureng-Zebe's letter to every body, thereby to oblige the flower of that countrey to take up arms for him, and the substantial merchants to lend him the more willingly such sums of money as he demanded of them. He began in good earnest to act the King, made large promises to all, and, in short, did so well, that he set a good army on foot, of whom he singled out some three thousand, who, under the conduct of Chah-Abas, one of his eunuchs, but a valiant man, should go to besiege Surat.

Aureng-Zebe sent his eldest son, Sultan Mahmoud (him whom he had married to the daughter of the King of Golkonda) to Emir-Jemla, who was yet employed in the siege of Kaliane, to perswade him to

come to him to Daulet-Abad, pretending to have matter of the greatest importance to communicate to him. Emir, who soon suspected his intentions, excused himself, saying openly, that Chah-Jehan was not dead, that he had fresh news of his being alive, and that besides, all his family being at Agra in the hands of Dara, he could by no means assist Aureng-Zebe, nor declare himself for him. Whereupon Sultan Mahmoud return'd to Daulet-Abad, without effecting any thing, and very much dissatisfied with Emir. But Aureng-Zebe lost no courage for all that, but sent the second time to Emir, yet not Sultan Mahmoud, but Sultan Mazum his second son, who presented to him his father's letter, and handled him with that dexterity, sweetness, and protestation of friendship, that it was not possible to resist him. Emir therefore pressed the siege of Kaliane, forced the besieged to surrender upon composition, took the choice of his army, and with all diligence went away with Sultan Mazum. At his arrival, Aureng-Zebe courted him in the highest degree, treating him no otherwise than with the name of *Baba* and *Babagy*, that is, Father, Lord-Father; and after an hundred embraces, he took him somewhat aside, and told him (according to what I could learn from persons who knew of it) "That it was not just, that having his family at the Court, he should adventure to do any thing in his behalf that might come to be known; but that, after all, there was nothing so difficult but an expedient might be found. Give me leave therefore," said he, "to propose to you a design, which at first will possibly surprise you; but,

since you apprehend the danger of your wife and children that are in hostage, the best way of providing for their security would be, to suffer me to seize on your person, and to put you in prison. It is out of doubt, that all the world will believe it done in earnest: for who would imagine, that such a person as you would be content to let your self be laid in prison? In the interim, I could make use of part of your army, and of your artillery, as you shall judge most proper and convenient: you also could furnish me with a sum of money, as you have frequently offered it; and besides, methinks I might tempt fortune further, and we might together take our measures, to see in what manner I had best to demean my self, if you would also permit, that I might cause you to be transported into the fortress of Daulet-Abad, where you should be master; and that there I might have you kept by my own son, Sultan Mazum, or Sultan Mahmoud; this would yet better palliate the matter, and I see not, what Dara could justly say of it, nor how he could reasonably treat your wife and children ill."

Emir, whether it were by reason of the friendship he had sworn to Aureng-Zebe, or for the great promises made to him, or the apprehension he had, of seeing near him Sultan Mazum, who stood by, very pensive and well armed, and Sultan Mahmoud, who looked grim upon him for his coming away at the solicitation of his brother, not at that of his, and had at his very entrance lift up his foot, as if he would have hit him; whatever of these considerations might induce him, consented to all what Aureng-Zebe desired, and approved of the expedient to suffer himself to be im-

prisoned ; so that Aureng-Zebe being no sooner gone, but the great master of the artillery was seen to approach with some fierceness to Emir, and to command him in the name of Aureng-Zebe to follow him, locking him up in a chamber, and there giving him very good words, whilst all the soldiery that Aureng-Zebe had thereabout, went to their arms. The report of the detention of Emir-Jemla was no sooner spread, but a great tumult arose ; and those, whom he had brought along with him, although astonished, yet put themselves into a posture of rescuing him, and with their swords drawn ran to force the guards, and the gate of his prison, which was easy for them to do : for Aureng-Zebe had not with him sufficient troops to make good so bold an enterprise, the only name of Emir-Jemla made all tremble. But the whole matter being altogether counterfeited, all these commotions were presently calmed, by the intimations that were given to the Chief Officers of Emir's army, and by the presence of Aureng-Zebe, who there appeared very resolute with his two sons, and spoke now to one, then to another ; and at last by promises and presents, liberally bestowed on those that were concerned. So that all the troops of Emir, and even most of those of Chah-Jehan, seeing things troubled, and being without their General, and believing Chah-Jehan to be dead or, at best, desperately sick ; considering also the ample promises made to them of augmenting their stipend, and of giving them at that very time three months advance, soon lifted them-selves under Aureng-Zebe ; who having seized on all the equipage of Emir, even his very camels and tents, took the field, resolved

to march to the seige of Suratte, and to hasten the taking it in ; where Morad-Bakche was exceedingly embarrassed, because that his best troops were employed there, and that he found more resistance in that place than he imagined. But Aureng-Zebe, after some days march, was informed, that the Governor had surrendered the place ; for which he sent congratulations to Morad-Bakche, acquainting him withal of his transactions with Emir-Jemla, and assuring him, that he had forces and money enough, and very good intelligence at the Court ; that nothing was wanting ; that he was directly going to Brampour and Agra ; that he had expected him on the way, and therefore directed him to join with him.

'Tis true, Morad-Bakche found not so much money in the fortress of Suratte as he had imagined, whether 'twere that really there was not so much as was reported, or whether the Governor had diverted a part of it, as some belived : yet notwithstanding that little he found there was useful to him, to pay the soldiers that had listed themselves in hopes of the advantages, they should make of the imagined vast treasure of Suratte. 'Tis not less true, that he had no greater reason to boast of the taking of this place, in regard there was not any regular fortification about it ; and yet his army had lain before it above a month, and would never have reduced it without the Hollanders, who furnished them with the invention of springing a mine, which ruining a great side of the wall, cast the besieged into such consternation, that it made them immediately surrender. The reduction of this town did much advance his design, fame proclaiming immediately throughout these countreys, that Morad-

Bakche had taken Suratte; that he had sprung a mine which sounded very big among the Indians, who as yet do little understand that practice; and that there he had found a vast treasure. Notwithstanding this great noise, and all the first advantages, joyned to all those frequent letters and great promises of Aureng-Zebe, the eunuch, Chah-Abas, a man of good sense, of a great heart, and exceedingly affectionate to the service of his master, was not of opinion, that Morad-Bakche should so much tye himself in interest to Aureng-Zebe, or precipitate his conjunction with him, but advised, that he should amuse him with words, and let him advance alone towards Agra; that in the mean time there would come certain news of the sickness of Chah-Jehan; that he should first see what channel affairs would run in; that he should fortifie Suratte, as a very good post, able to render him master of a very large and rich countrey; and that perhaps in time he might seize Brampour, which is a very considerable passage of a river, and as'twere a bar of Decan. But the continual lettters and protestations of Aureng-Zebe, joined to the small forces, artillery, and treasure of Morad-Bakche, blinded with an excessive ambition to reign, made him regardless of all other considerations; so that he went away from Amadevad, abandoned Guzarette, and took his way through the woods and mountains, with all expedition, to be at the rendezvouz, where Aureng-Zebe had looked for him these two or three days.

Great solemnities of joy were made at the conjunction of the two armies, the Princes visited one another, Aureng-Zebe made a hundred protestations and no less

promises to Morad-Bukche, assured him afresh, and solemnly, of his not caring for the Crown, as also of his being there for no other end than to assist him against Dara, their common enemy, and to place him in the Throne, which expected him.

Upon this interview, and confirmation of friendship, both armies marched together, Aureng-Zebe continuing always, during the march, in the protestations of friendship, and in his courtship to Morad-Bakche, treating him never otherwise, whether in publick or private, but with the title of *Hazaret*, that is, King and Majesty: so that Morad-Bakche was fully perswaded, that Aureng-Zebe meant sincerely, from an excess of affection towards him; whence he even willingly, and without ceremony, suffered the submissions and respects he shewed him; instead of remembering what had lately passed at Golkonda, and of considering, that he, who had thus hazarded himself with so much boldness to usurp a kingdom, was not of a temper to live and dye a *Fakir*.

These two armies thus joyned made a body considerable enough; which begot a great noise at Court, and gave cause of thoughtfulness, not only to Dara, but to Chah-Jehan himself who knew the great parts and subtle conduct of Aureng-Zebe, and the courage of Morad-Bakche; and who foresaw very well, that a fire was a kindling, which would be very hard to quench. It was to no purpose to write letters upon letters, signifying that he was well, and giving order that they should turn back to their respective Governments, and expressing also, that he

would forget all that had passed hitherto. All his letters were not able to hinder their advance ; and as the sickness of Chah-Jehan did still pass for mortal, there being no persons wanting to bring and spread such news, they still continued to dissemble, giving out, that they were letters counterfeited by Dara ; that Chah-Jehan was dead indeed, but that, in case he were alive, they would go to kiss his feet, and deliver him from the hands of Dara.

What then should Chah-Jehan, this unfortunate King, do, who seeth, that his sons have no regard to his orders ; who is informed at all hours, that they march apace towards Agra in the head of their armies, and who in this conjuncture finds himself sick to boot in the hands of Dara, that is, of a man who breatheth nothing but war ; who prepareth for it with all imaginable earnestness, and with all the marks of an enraged resentment against his brothers : but what could he do in this extremity ? He is constrained to abandon to them his treasures, and to leave them to their disposal. He is forced to send for his old and most trusty Captain whom he knows for the most part to be not very affectionate to Dara ; he must command them to fight for Dara, against his own blood, his own children, and those, for whom he hath more esteem than for Dara ; he is obliged forthwith to send an army against Sultan Sujah, because 'tis he that is most advanced ; and he is to send another against Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bakche, who no less are marching towards him.

Soliman Chekouh, the eldest son of Dara, a young Prince of about five and twenty years of age,

very proper of body, and of good parts and conduct, generous, liberal, and univesally beloved, especially of Chah-Jehan, who had already enriched him, and who considered him rather for his Successor than Dara, was he, that was made General of this army against Sujah. Nevertheless Chah-Jehan, who wished much rather, that Sujah were returned to Bengale, than that the matter should be tryed by a bloody combat, which could not be but very tragical, and wherein he run the hazard of losing one or other of his sons, gave him for companion an ancient Raja, called Jesseigne, who is at present one of the powerfulest and richest Rajahs of all Indostan, and one of the ablest in the whole kingdom, with a secret order not to fight, except it were altogether unavoidable ; as also to endeavour by all means to induce Sujah to retire, and to reserve his forces for a better occasion ; that is to say, after they should have seen the event of the sickness of Chah-Jehan, and the success of Aureng-Zebe, and of Morad-Bakche. But this young Prince, Soliman Chekouh, full of heat and courage, breathing after nothing but to signalize himself by some great action, and Sultan Sujah fearing lest Aureng-Zebe gaining a battle should first make himself master of the Capital towns of the Empire, Agra and Dehly ; it was impossible for the Raja Jesseigne to keep them from a combat. The two armies are no sooner in sight of one another, but they prepare to fall on, and they were not long from giving some vollies of cannon. I shall not relate the particulars of this fight, for, besides that the narration of it would be too long and tedious,

in the sequel of this History we shall be obliged to describe more considerable ones, by which the reader will be able to judge of this. 'Tis sufficient to know in general, that the first onset was very sharp and obstinate on both sides, but that at length Soliman Chekouh did urge Sujah with that force and vigour that he disordered him, and made him fly: so that if Jesseigne, and the Patan Delil-kan, who was one of the first Captains* and a valiant man, but an intimate friend of the Raja, and did not act but being moved by him, had seconded him in good earnest, 'tis thought that the whole army of Sujah would have been defeated, and himself in danger of being taken: but that was not the design of the Raja to destroy him, no more than it was that of Chah-Jehan, who had given him order to the contrary. Thus then had Sujah time to retreat, and without losing any considerable number of his men; yet because Soliman Chekouh kept the field, and brought away some pieces of artillery, it was presently bruited at Court, that Sujah had been totally overthrown. This defeat purchased great reputation to Soliman Chekouh, lessened much the esteem of Sultan Sujah, and cooled exceedingly all the Persians that had an inclination for him.

After that some days were spent in the pursuit of Sujah, the Prince Soliman Chekouh, who every day received news from the Court, and who learned that Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bakche did approach with great resolution, well knowing, that his father Dara had no great stock of prudence, but good store of secret enemies, resolved to quit the pursuit of Sultan;

Sujah, and with all speed to return to Agra, where in all appearance Dara was to give battel against Aureng-Zebe, and Morad-Bakche. This was the best counsel he could take, for no man doubts, that if he could have been there in good time, Aureng-Zebe would not have had the advantage; and 'tis even believed, he would never have hazarded the combat, the party being too unequal; but the bad fortune of Dara did not permit it.

Whilst all that was thus transacted towards Elabas, which is the place where the Gemna is joyned to Ganges; the scene was very different on the side of Agra. At the Court they were much surprised to hear, that Aureng-Zebe had passed the river of Brampour, and all the other passages that were most difficult between the mountains; so that with all hast they send away some troops to dispute with him the passage of the river Eugenes, whilst the whole army was making ready. For which purpose there were chosen two of the most considerable and the most powerful of the kingdom to command it; the one was Kasem-Kan, a renowned Captain and very affectionate to Chah-Jehan, but one that had no great inclination to Dara, and who went not but to oblige Chah-Jehan, whom he saw in the hands of Dara: the other was Jessomseigne, a potent Raja, not inferior to Jesseigne, and Son-in-law to that Raja *Rana*, who was at the time of Ekbar so puissant, as if he had been the Emperor of the Raja's. 'Dara at their farewell expressed to them great kindness, and presented them nobly; but Chah-Jehan took his time, before their departure, to charge them in secret, as he had done the

Raja Jesseigne, when he went away in the expedition against Sultan Sujah with Soliman Chekouh. Neither were they wanting, in their march, to send several times to Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bakche. to perswade them to turn back. But this was in vain ; their envoys came not again, and the army advanced with that diligence, that they saw it much sooner than they thought upon a rising ground, not far remote from the river.

It being then summer, and the season of the greatest heats, the river was fordable ; which was the cause, that at the same time Kasem-kan and the Raja prepared themselves to give battel ; besides that, they soon knew the resolution of Aureng-Zebe, that he would force them, since that, although his army was not all come up, he gave them some vollies of cannon ; his design being to amuse them fearing lest they themselves should pass the river, not only to prevent his passage, but also to hinder his army from reporting, and from taking an advantageous post ; which was indeed in great disorder, and so tired by their march, and so faint by the heat, that if at the very first it had been assaulted, and kept from passing the water, it would doubtless have been routed without much resistance. [I was not by in this first encounter, but thus it was generally discoursed of, and it agreeth with the after-relation of many of our Frenchmen, who served Aureng-Zebe in the artillery,] But they were content to stay at the river-side, to keep Aureng-Zebe from passing it, according to the order they had received.

After that Aureng-Zebe had let his army rest two or three days, and by amusing the enemy, had fitted it to pass the river, he made his whole artillery play,

which was very well placed ; and he commanded, that under the favour of the cannon they should pass the river. Kasem-Kan and the Raja, on their part, discharged theirs also, and did what they could to repulse the enemy, and to keep him from passing. The combat was sharp enough at first, and very obstinately maintained by the extraordinary valour of Jessom-seigne. For as to Kasem-Kan, although a great Captain, and a stout man, he gave no great proof of his valour in this occasion ; yea, some accuse him of treachery, charging him that he had in the night caused the bullets and powder to be hid under the sand, there being no more of them to be found after two or three discharges. However it be, the combat for all that was, as I said, very resolutely carried on, and the passage long disputed. There were rocks in the bed of the river, which did much embarrass, and the banks of many places were very high and difficult to climb up. But at last, Morad-Bakche cast himself into the water with so much resolution and force, and shewed so much valour and boldness, that there was no resisting of him. He passed over, and with him a good part of the army, which made Kasem-Kan to give back, and cast Jessom-seigne into great danger of his person. For by and by he found the whole body of the enemy upon him, and without the extraordinary resolution of his Ragipous, who almost all were killed about him, he had been a dead man. One may judge of the great danger he was in upon this occasion, by this, that after he had disengaged himself as well as he could, and was come back to his own, not daring to return to Agra, because of the great loss he had suffered, of seven or eight thousand

Ragipous he had but five or six hundred of them remaining.

These Ragipous, who take their name from the Raja, that is to say, the children of the Rajas, are from father to son such men as make the sword their profession. The Rajas, whose subjects they are, do assign them lands for their subsistence, on condition to be always ready to go to war when summoned. So that one might say, that they were a sort of Pagan Nobles, if the Rajas gave them their lands in propriety for them and their children. They are great takers of opium; and I have sometimes wondered at the quantity I have seen them take: they accustom themselves to it from their youth. On the day of battel they double the dose, this drug animating, or rather inebriating them, and making them insensible of danger; insomuch that they cast themselves into the combate like so many furious beasts, not knowing what it is to run away, but dying at the feet of their Raja, when he stands to it. They want nothing but order, resolution they have enough. 'Tis a pleasure thus to see them, with the fume of opium in their head to embrace one another, when the battel is to begin, and to give their mutual farewells, as men resolved to dye. And that they do for this reason; that the Great Mogol, though a Mahumetan, and by consequence an enemy of the Heathen, yet for all that entertains always a good number of Rajas in his service, whom he considers as his other *Omrahs*, and employs in his armies as if they were Mahumetans.

I cannot forbear to relate here the fierce reception, which the daughter of the *Rana* gave to her husband.

Jessomseigne, after his defeat and flight. When she heard that he was nigh, and had understood what had passed in the battel; that he had fought with all possible courage; that he had but four or five hundred men left; and that at last, not being able to resist any longer the enemy, he had been obliged to retreat: she instead of sending one to receive him, and to condole him in his misfortunes, commanded in a dry mood to shut the gates of the Castle, and not to let this infamous man enter; that he was not her husband; that she would never see him; that the son-in-law of the great *Rauz*, could not have so low a soul; that he was to remember, that being grafted into so illustrious an house, he was to imitate the virtue of it; and, in a word, that he was either to vanquish or to dye. A moment after she was of another humour; she commands a pile of wood to be laid, that she might burn her self, that they abus'd her; that her husband must needs be dead; that it could not be otherwise. And a little while after this, she was seen to change her countenance, to fall into passion, and to break out into a thousand reproaches against him. In short, she remained thus transported eight or nine days, without being able to resolve to see her husband, 'till at last her mother coming in, brought her in some degree to herself and comforted her, assuring her, that as soon as the *Raja* had but a little refresh'd himself he would raise another army, to fight *Aureng-Zebe*, and repair his honour at any rate.

By which story one may see a pattern of the

courage of the women in that countrey: to which I could add something I have seen some of them do, who burned themselves alive after the death of their husband; but we must reserve this discourse for another place, where I shall also shew, that there is nothing which opinion, prepossession, custom, hope, and the point of honour, &c. may not make men do or suffer.

Dara having understood what had passed at Eugenes, fell into that choler against Kasem-Kan, that it was thought he would have cut off his head, if he had been upon the place. He was also transported against Emir-Jemla, as the person that was the first and principal cause of the misfortune, and who had furnish'd Aureng-Zebe with men, money and cannon. He is ready to kill his son Mahmet Emir-Kan, and will send his wife and daughter so *Basar*, or the market-place of prostituted women: and 'tis past doubt, that he would have done some such thing, if Chah-Jehan, with much art and prudence, had not moderated the excess of his passion, in remonstrating to him, that Emir-Jemla had not to little conduct, nor so great a friendship for Aureng-Zebe, as to hazard, and in a manner to sacrifice his family, for the advancing of his interest; that Aureng-Zebe must needs have gulled and ensnared him, by his usual artifice and cunning.

As for Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bakche, the happy success of this first encounter did so swell their hearts, and gave such courage to their whole army, that henceforth they believed themselves invincible, and capable to compass any thing. Besides, Aureng-Zebe, the more to animate his soldiers, bragged openly, that he had thirty

thousand Mogols at his devotion in the army of Dara ; and there was something in it, as appeared by the sequel, Morad-Bakche was for nothing but fighting, and would march with all diligence. But Aureng-Zebe represented to him, that it was necessary the army should refresh themselves for some time upon the banks of this sweet river; that in the mean time he would write to all his friends, and get a full and a certain information of the state of the Court, and of the condition of all affairs. So that he marched not towards Agra, 'till he had rested some days, and after that he marched but slowly, to inform himself of all, and to take his time and measures.

Concerning Chah-Jehan, when he plainly saw the resolution of Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bakche, and that there was no hope left to make them turn back, he was in such a perplexity that he knew not what to resolve, and foreseeing some great calamity, he would fain have hindred the last decisive battel, for which he saw Dara, preparing himself with great eagerness. But what could he do to oppose it? He was yet too weak of his sickness, and saw himself still in the hands of Dara, whom, as I have said, he trusted not much: so that he found himself obliged to acquiesce in his will, and to commit to him all the forces of the Empire, and to command all Captains to obey him. Immediately all was in arms: I know not, whether there was ever a more gallant army seen in Indostan. 'Tis said, that there were little less than an hundred thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot, with four thousand pieces of cannon, without reckoning the incredible number of servants, followers, victuallers,

whom Historians, methinks, do often put into the number of the combatants, when they speak of those formidable armies of three or four hundred thousand men, of which their books are full. Though this army was very brave, and strong enough to cut in pieces two or three of such as Aureng-Zebe had in which there were no more than thirty five or forty thousand men in all, and these tired and harassed by a very long and irksom march, during the height of the heats; and but a small number of cannon, in respect of that of Dara. Mean time (which seems hard to believe) there was scarce any body that presaged well for Dara, all knowing, that most of the chief *Omrahs* had no affection for him, and that all the good soldiers that were for him, and whom he might confide in, were in the army of Soliman Chekouh, his son. And 'twas for this reason, that the most prudent and the most faithful of his friend, and Chah-Jehan himself, counselled him, not to hazard a battel; Chah-Jehan offering, as infirm as he was, that he would go into the field himself, and be carried before Aureng-Zebe, to interpose; which was looked upon as a very good expedient for peace, and for accommodating the affairs of Chah-Jehan. For 'tis certain, that Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bákche, would never have had the boldness to fight against their own father; and if they should have attempted it, they would have smarted for it, because, besides that the match was not equal and all the great *Omrahs* were so affectionate to Chah-Jehan, that they would not have failed to fight resolutely, if they had seen him in the head of the

army ; besides this, I say, the Captains themselves of Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bakche, bore great affection and respect to this Prince, whose creatures they most were : and the whole army, in a manner was his. So that in all appearance, not one of them would have presumed to draw his sword against him, nor he been at the pains of drawing his.

Then they advised Dara, that if he would not hearken to this expedient, he should at least not precipitate the business, but delay, 'till Soliman Chekouh, who made all haste to join, were come in. Which was also very good counsel, in regard that that Prince was beloved of all, and was lately come home victorious, and had the most faithful and the bravest soldiers with him. But Dara would never hearken to any proposition that could be made to him, and he thought on nothing else but to give battel presently, and to go against Aureng-Zebe in person. And possibly he did not amiss, as to his own honour and particular interest, if he could have commanded fortune, and made things succeed as he contrived them. For the considerations he had (as he could not forbear now and then to discover) were some such as there :

He looked upon himself as master of the person of Chah-Jehan ; that he could dispose of him as he pleased ; that he was also possessor of all the treasures and forces of the Empire ; that Sultan Sujah was half ruined ; that his two other brothers with a weak and tired army, were come to cast themselves into his hands ; that, if he gained the battel, they could not escape him ; that he should all at once be absolute master, and at the end of all his troubles, and at the height of

his wishes, so as no body could contradict him in any thing, or dispute the Crown with him. Whereas if Chah-Jehan should take the field, all affairs would be accommodated, his brothers would return to their Governments, Chah-Jehan, who began to recover his health, would resume the Government as before, and all things would return into their first channel : that if he should stay for Soliman Chekouh, his son, Chah-Jehan, might take some design to his disadvantage, or contrive something with Aureng-Zebe ; that whatever he could do for gaining the victory, the reputation which Soliman Chekouh had purchased, would still give him all the honour of it. And after that, what would not he be capable to undertake, swelled with so much glory and success, and especially being supported, as he was, by the favour and affection of Chah-Jehan, and of the greatest part of the *Omrahs* ? What did he know, whether he would keep any modesty, or any respect for him, and whither his ambition might not carry him ?

These considerations made Dara resolve to stand out against the counsel of all, and to pursue his point. And for that purpose, he commanded immediately the whole army to take the field, and thereupon came to take leave of Chah-Jehan, who was in the fortress of Agra. This good old man was ready to melt in tears, when he embraced him ; but withal faild not to represent to him, with a very grave countenance : "Well, Dara, since thou art resolved to follow thine own will, go, God bless thee, but remember well these few words : 'If thou locest the battel, take heed of ever coming into my presence.'" But this made no great

impression upon him ; he goeth forth briskly, taketh horse, and seizeth on the passage of the river Tchembel, which is about twenty miles from Agra ; where he fortified himself, expecting his enemy. But the subtil and crafty *Fakire*, who wanted no good spies, and people that gave him intelligence of all, and who knew that the passage was there very difficult, took good heed to attempt the forcing it. He came to encamp himself near it, so that from the camp of Dara one might discover his tents. But what doth he in the mean time ? He inveigles a certain rebel of Raja, called Champet, presents him richly, and promiseth him a thousand fine things, if he would let him pass through his Territories, that so he might go with speed to gain a certain place, where he knew that the river might be passed on foot with ease. Champet agreeth, and offers of his own accord, that he would himself attend him, and show him the way through the woods and hills of his countrey. Aureng-Zebe raised his camp the same night, without any noise, leaving some of his tents to amuse Dara, and marching night and day, made such haste, that he was almost as soon on the other side of the river, as Dara could have notice of it. Which obliged Dara to abandon the river there, and to leave all his fortifications, and to follow his enemy, who, he was told, did advance with great diligence towards Agra, to gain the river of Gemna, and there without trouble, and at his ease to enjoy the water, to fortifie, and to fix himself well and so to expect Dara. The place where he encamped is but five leagues from Agra, it was formerly called Samonguer, and now Fateabad, which

is to say, Place of Victory. A little while after, Dara also came to encamp there, nigh the bank of the same river, between Agra, and the army of Aureng-Zebe.

The two armies were there between three and four days in sight of one another, without fighting. Mean time Chah-Jehan wrote several letters to Dara, that Soliman Chekouh was not far off ; that he should not precipitate ; that he should come near Agra, and chuse an advantageous place to fortifie himself 'till he came. But Dara answered, that before three days were pass'd he would bring to him Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bakche tyed hand and foot, to do with them what he should think fit. And without expecting any longer, he began at that very hour to put his army in battel-array.

He placed in the front all his cannon, causing them to be tyed the one to the other with chains. to shut the passage to the cavalry. Behind these pieces of cannon, he placed also front-wise a great number of light camels, on the forepart of the bodies, whereof they fasten a small peece, of the bigness of a double musquet ; a man sitting on the hind part of the camel, being able to charge and discharge without lighting. Behind these camels stood the greatest part of the musqueteers. Of the rest of the army, which chiefly consisted in cavalry, furnish'd with bows and arrows, (as ordinarily are the Mogols, that is, at present, white men, Mahumetans, strangers, as Persians, Turks, Arabians, and Usbecks ;) or with a sword, and a kind of half-pike as commonly are the Ragipous : of all these, I say, there

were made three different bodies. The right wing was committed to Calil-ullah-Kan, with thirty thousand Mogols under his command ; for he was made great *Bakchis*, that is, Great Master of the Cavalry, in the place of Danehmend-Kan, that was afterwards my *Agah*, who voluntarily resigned this Office, seeing that he was not well-beloved of Dara, for having always highly maintained against him the interest and authority of Chah-Jehan. The left wing was given to Rustam-Kan Dakny, a very renowned and very valiant Captain, together with the Raja Chatresale, and the Raja Ramseigne Routle.

On the other side, Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bakche put also their army almost into the same order ; except that in the midst of the troops of some *Omrahs*, they had hid some small field-peeces, which was, as was said, after the way and art of Emir-Jemla, and with no ill effect.

They hardly made use of any more art, than what hath been now related ; only they placed here and there some men casting *Baunes*, which is a kind of granado fastened to a stick, that may be cast very far through the cavalry, and which extremely terrifieth horses, and even hurts and kills sometimes.

All this cavalry turns about very easily, and they draw their arrows with marvellous swiftness ; one man being able to draw six of them, before a musqueteer can twice discharge his musquet. The same cavalry keeps also very close in several troops under their respective Officers, especially when they are going to fight hand to hand. But after all, I see not, that this way of putting an army in array, is any

great matter, in comparison of our armies, when in good order.

All things being thus disposed, the artillery began to play on both sides ; for 'tis always the cannon that makes the prelude amongst them ; and the arrows were now seen to fly through the air, when unexpectedly there hapned to fall a storm of rain, so violent, that it interrupted the combat. The rain ceasing, the cannon began afresh to roar ; and then it was that Dara appeared, who being mounted upon a proud elephant of *Ceilan*, commanded that an onset should be made on all sides ; and himself advanced into the midst of the body of the cavalry, directly towards the enemies artillery, who received him warmly, kill'd store of men about him, and put into disorder, not only the main body which he commanded, but also the other bodies of the cavalry that followed him. Yet notwithstanding, because he was seen to keep firm upon his elephant, without any appearance of giving back, and was observed to look every where about him with an undaunted look, and to make signs with his hands to advance and follow him, this disorder soon ceased, every one resuming his rank, and advancing in the same place with Dara. But he could not reach the enemy, without receiving another volley of cannon-shot, which caused a second and great disorder in his men, and made a good part of them recoil ; yet he without any change in his countenance, stood to it, encouraging his troops, and gave still signs, that they should follow him, and advance with speed without any loss of time. Thus pressing vigorously forward, he forced the enemies artillery, broke the chains, entred into their camp,

and made a rout in their camels and infantry, and in every thing he met with on that side ; opening also a good passage to the cavalry that followed him. Then it was, that the enemies cavalry facing him, a fore combat began. A showre of arrows filled the air from both sides, Dara himself putting his hand to that work ; but, to say truth, those arrows do but little execution ; more of them are lost in the air, or broken on the ground, than hit. The first discharges of arrows being made, they fought hand to hand with their sabres, *peste peste*, and the combat was stoutly maintained on both sides. Dara is still seen to continue firm on his elephant, encouraging, making a noise, and giving signs on all sides ; and at last advancing with so much resolution and force, against all that opposed him in his march, that he overthrew the cavalry, and made them to retire and run away.

Aureng-Zebe, who was not far from thence, and mounted also on an elephant, seeing this great disorder, was in great trouble, and laboured with all his might to remedy it ; but to no purpose. He made the main body of his best cavalry advance, to try whether he could make head against Dara ; but it was not long before this body also was forced to give back, and to retreat in great disorder, whatever Aureng-Zebe could say or do to hinder it. Mean time let us take notice of his courage and resolution : he saw that almost the whole body of his army was disordered, and in a flying posture, insomuch that he had not a thousand men about him that kept their standing ; (some told me that there were scarce five hundred :) he saw, that Dara, notwithstanding the difficulty of the way, which

was uneven, and full of holes in divers places, made as if he would rush in upon him : yet, for all this, he lost no courage, and was so far from 'being struck with fear, or from retreating, that he stood firmly to it, and called by name most of his Captains that were about him, crying out to them, *Delirane Kodahé*, (these are his own words,) that is, "courage my old friends, God is : what hope is there in flying ? know you not, where is our Decan ? *Kodahé Kodahé*, God is, God is." And that none might doubt of his being undaunted, and that he thought on nothing less than running away, he commanded before them all (oh strange extremity !) that forthwith chains should be fastned to the feet of his elephant ; and was going to fasten them in good earnest, but that they all declared their courage and resolution, to live and dye with him.

Dara in the interim endeavoured to advance upon Aureng-Zebe, though he was yet at a good distance from him, and though the difficulty of the way embarrassed and retarded him much ; he meeting also with some resistance, even from those disordered horse of the enemy, that covered all high and low places where he was to march. And this encounter with Aureng-Zebe was looked upon as the thing, that was to assure Dara of the victory, and to decide the battel. And doubtless, he would have overcome all these difficulties, and Aureng-Zebe, with the small number left him, would not have been able to bid head to this victorious army, if Dara had known to profit of the prize he had in his hands. But here he failed ; of which I shall now shew the occasion, and how thereby the scale was turned to Aureng-Zebe's advantage.

Dara perceived that his left wing was in great disorder, and he was informed, that Rustam-Kan and Chatresafe were killed; that Ramseigne Routle had too far advanced, that he had indeed forced the enemy and made way through the midst of them; but that now he was surrounded every way, and in very great danger. This it was, which made Dara desist from his design of making directly towards Aureng-Zebe, that might go to succour his left wing. There at first the battel was also very sharp, but Dara at last carried it, forcing and routing all, yet so, as that there still remained something that resisted and stopped him. Mean time, Ramseigne Routle fought with so much courage and vigour as was possible. He wounded Morad-Bakche, and came so near him, that he began to cut the girdles of his elephant, to make him fall down; but the valour and good fortune of Morad-Bakche gave not time enough for it. In short never any man fought and defended himself more bravely, than Morad-Bakche did on this occasion: all wounded as he was, and pressed by the Ragipous of Ramseigne Routle, who were round about him, he was not daunted, nor gave way in the least, but knew so well to take his time, that although he was, besides defending himself to cover with his shield a son of his, but of seven or eight years of age, who was sitting on his side, he made an arrow-shot so luckily at Ramseigne Routle, that it made him fall dead to the ground.

Dara soon heard the sad news of this accident; but at the same time he understood also, that Morad-Bakche was in very great danger; the Ragipous fighting furiously, and like lions, to revenge the death of

their master. And though he saw, on that side the way was very difficult, and that he still found some small body opposing and retarding him; yet he was determined to rush through to Morad-Bakche: and doubtless this was the best he could do, and that, which was capable to repair the fault he had committed in not doing his business thoroughly with Aureng-Zebe. But his bad fortune kept him from it, or rather, one of the blackest treacheries that ever was imagined, and the greatest oversight that was ever committed, did cause the entire loss and ruin of Dara.

Calil-ullah-Kan (he commanded the thirty thousand Mogols, which made the right wing, and were also able to defeat the whole army of Aureng-Zebe) did, whilst Dara and his left wing fought with so much courage and success, keep off, as idle as if he were not concerned in the fray, not permitting any one of his horsemen to shoot an arrow, with a pretence, that they were for a reserve, and that he had express order not to fight but in the last extremity. But the true cause was, that he reserved in his breast the rancour of an old affront, done him by Dara, when he commanded him to be struck. But after all this treachery would have done no great mischief, if this infamous men had contented himself with his first effect of his resentment: behold, how far he carried his rage, and revengefulness! He cut himself off from his main body, and taking only a few men with him, rid with all possible speed towards Dara, at the same time when he was turning to fall on Morad-Bakche, and being come so near as to make himself be heard, cryed out with all his force; "*Mohbareck-bad, Hazaret, Salamet, Elhamdullella*;

God save your Majesty, you have obtained the Victory; what will you do any longer upon your elephant? Is it not enough, that you have exposed your self so long? If the least of those shots, that have been made into your *Dais*, had reached your person, what would have become of us? Are the traitors wanting in this army? In the name of God come down quickly and take horse. What remains more to be done, than to pursue those run-aways. Let us do so, nor let us suffer that they should escape our hands!"

If Dara had had wit enough to discover the cheat, and to consider upon a sudden the consequences of his not appearing any more upon the elephant, and being no more seen by the whole army, always eying him, or rather if he had presently commanded to cut off the head of this parasitical traitor, he had been master of all. But the good Prince suffered himself to be blinded by these sweet words: he hearkned to this advice, as if it had been very true and very sincere; he descended from his elephant, and took horse. But I know not whether there passed one quarter of an hour, but he perceived the treachery of Calil-ulla-Kan, and repented himself extremely of the great fault he had committed. He looks about him, he seeketh, he asketh where he is; he faith, he is a traitor, he will kill him. But the perfidious villain is by this time at a good distance; the occasion is lost. Would it be believed, that as soon as the army perceived Dara to be no more upon the elephant, they imagined that there was treason, that Dara was killed; and all were struck with such a terror, that every one thought on nothing, but how to escape the hands of Aureng-Zebe, and to save himself? What

shall I say? All the army disbands and flyeth. A sudden and strange revolution! He that saw himself just now victorious, finds himself in a few moments vanquished, abandoned, and obliged to fly himself to save his life. Aureng-Zebe, by holding out firm a quarter of an hour upon his elephant, seeth the Crown of Indostan upon his head; and Dara for having down a little too soon, seeth himself precipitated from the Throne, and the most unfortunate Prince of the world. Thus Fortune taketh pleasure, to make the gain or loss of a battel, and the decision of a great Empire, depend upon a nothing.

These great and prodigious armies, 'tis true, do sometimes great things: but when once terror seisseth, and disorder comes among them, what means of stopping the commotion? 'Tis like a great river broke through its dams; it must overrun all, without a remedy. Whence it is, that as often as I consider the condition of such armies, destitute of good order, and marching like flocks of sheep, I perswade my self, that if in these parts one might see an army of five and twenty thousand men, or those old troops of Flanders, under the conduct of Monsieur le Prince, or Monsieur de Turenne, I doubt not at all, but they would trample under foot all those armies how numerous soever they were. And this it is, that now maketh me not find it any longer strange or incredible, what we are told of ten thousand Greeks; and of fifty thousand men of Alexander, overcoming six or seven hundred thousand men of Darius; (if it be true, that there were so many, and that the Historian did not reckon the servants, and all those numbers of men, which were

to follow the army, to furnish it with forrage, cattle, corn, and all other necessities.) Bear only the first brunt, which would be no very difficult thing for us to do; and behold, they are all astonished: or do like Alexander, set vigorously upon one place, if that hold not out, (which will be very hard for them to do) you may be sure the work is done; all the rest presently take fright and flight together.

Aureng-Zebe, encouraged by such a wonderful success, is not wanting to turn every stone, to employ skill, dexterity, subtilty, craft, courage to profit by all the advantages, which so favourable an occasion puts into his hands. Calil-ullah-Kan is presently with him, offering him his service, and all the troops he could be master of. He on his side, wants not words of thanks and acknowledgments, nor a thousand fair promises: but he was very cautious to receive him in his own name; he carried him presently and presented him to Morad-Bakche, who, as we may easily think, received him with open arms; Aureng-Zebe in the mean time congratulating and praising Morad-Bakche, for having fought so valiantly, and ascribing to him all the honour of the victory; treating him with all the title of King and Majesty before Calil-ullah-Kan, giving him uncommon respect, and doing submission to him becoming a subject and servant. In the interim, he labours night and day for himself, he writeth round about to all the *Omrachs*, making sure to to day of one, and next day of another. Chah-hest-Kan, his uncle, the great and old enemy of Dara, by reason of an affront he had received from him, did the same for him on his part; and as he is the person who writeth best and subtilest of

the Empire of Indostan, so he contributed not a little by his cabals to the advancement of the affairs of Aureng-Zebe, making strong parties every where against Dara.

In the mean time let us still observe the artifice and dissimulation of Aureng-Zebe. Nothing of what he doth, treateth, promiseth, is for himself, or in his own name; he hath still (forsooth) the design of living as a *Fakire*; all for Morad-Bakche, 'tis he that commands; Aureng-Zebe doth nothing; 'tis Morad-Bakche doth all, 'tis he that is designed to be King.

As for the unhappy Dara, he comes with all speed to Agra, in a desperate condition, and not daring to go see Chah-Jehan, remembring, doubtless, those severe words which he let fall, when he took leave of him before the battel, viz. that he should remember not to come before him, if he were overcome. Yet, for all that, the good old father sent secretly a trusty eunuch to him, to comfort him, to assure him of the continuance of his affection, to declare to him his trouble for his misfortune, and to remonstrate to him, that the case was not yet desperate, considering that there was a good army with Soliman Chekouh, his son, that he should go to Dehli, were he should find a thousand horse in the Royal stables; and that the Governor of the fortress had order to furnish him with money and elephants; for the rest, that he should not go further than he needs must; that he would often write to him; and lastly, that he very well knew how to find out and chastise Aureng-Zebe.

I have been informed, that Dara was then in such

a confusion, and sunk so low, that he had not the power to answer a word to the eunuch, nor the courage to send any one to Chah-Jehan ; but that, after having sent several times to Begum-Saheb, his sister, he went away at midnight, taking with him his wife, his daughters and his grand-child Sepe-Chekouh ; and that (which is almost incredible) he was attended with not-above three or four hundred persons. Let us leave him in his voyage to Dehli, and stay at Agra, to consider the dexterity and craft, wherewith Aureng-Zebe proceeded to manage affairs.

He well knew, that Dara, and those of his party could yet place some hopes in the victorious army of Soliman Chekouh and therefore he resolved to take it from him, or to make it useless to him. To this end, he wrote letters upon letters to the Raja Jesseigne, and to Delil-Kan, who were the chief heads of the army of Soliman Chekouh, telling them, that there was no hope left for Dara and his party ; that he had lost the battle ; that his whole army had submitted to him ; that all had abandon'd him ; that he was fled alone towards Dehli ; that he could never escape him, and that orders were distributed every where to seize, on him. And as for Chah-Jehan, that he was in a condition hopeless of recovery ; that they should take good care of what they had to do ; and if they were men of understanding, and would follow his fortune, and be his friends, they should seize on Soliman Chekouh, and bring him to him.

Jesseigne found himself perplexed enough, what he should do, still much apprehending, Chah-Jehan and Dara, and more, to lay hands upon a Royal

Person well knowing, that some mischief might therefore fall on him, sooner or later, even from Aureng-Zebe himself. Besides, he knew that Soliman Chekouh had too much courage to let himself be taken after that manner, and that he would rather die in defending of himself. Behold therefore, what he at last resolved ! After having taken counsel with Delil-Kan, his great friend, and after they had renewed to one another the oath of mutual fidelity, he went directly to the Tent of Soliman Chekouh, who with great impatience expected, (for he also had heard the news of the defeat of Dara his father) and had already divers times sent for him. To him he frankly discovered all things, shewed him the letter of Aureng-Zebe, told him what course was best for him to take, represented to him the danger he was in ; that there was no reason he should trust in Delil-Kan, or in Daoud-Kan, or in the rest of his army ; but that, as soon as he could, he should gain the mountains of Serenagure ; that that was the best expedient he could take ; that the Raja of that countrey being in inaccessible places, and not apprehending Aureng-Zebe, would doubtless receive him gladly ; and, for the rest, he would soon see how things would go, and be always in a condition to come down from the mountains, when he should think good.

The young Prince understood well enough by this kind of discourse, that there was no ground to trust henceforth in this Raja, and that there was no more safety for his person ; and that the rather, because, he knew that Delil-Kan was altogether

devoted to him, and he saw well enough, that there was a necessity to take this course suggested. Whereupon he soon commanded, that his baggage should be put up to march towards the mountains. Some of his most affectionate friends, as a good number of *Manseb-Dars*, of *Sajeds*, and others, put themselves in order to attend him ; the rest of the army, altogether astonished, remain'd with the Raja. But that, which was very mean for a great Raja, and a very sordid barbarousness, was, that he and Delil-Kan sent under hand some to fall upon his baggage, who also took other things and among them an elephant laden with Rupies of gold, which caused a great disorder among those small troops that followed him ; and which was an occasion, that many of them return'd and abandon'd him ; and invited also the country-people to set upon his men, pillaging them and even killing some of them : yet he made a shift to gain the mountains, with his wife and children, where the Raja of Serenaguer received him with all the honour and civilities he could desire, assuring him, that he was in safety, as much as if he were King of that countrey, and that he would protect and assist him with all his forces. In the mean time, behold what hapned on Agra's side.

Three or four days after the battel of Samonguer, the victorious Aureng-Zebe, together with Morad-Bakche came directly to the gate of the town into a garden, which may be a little league distant from the fortress, and sent from thence an able eunuch, and one of those whom he most confided in, to Chah-Jehan, to salute him with a thousand fair protestations of his affection

and submission; that he was exceedingly sorry for what had passed, and for having been obliged, by reason of the ambition and evil designs of Dara, to proceed to all those extremities; that, for the rest, he rejoiced extremely to hear, that he began to find himself better, and that he was come thither for no other end than to receive his commands. Chah-Jehan was not wanting to express to the eunuch much satisfaction, as to the proceedings of Aureng-Zebe, and to receive the submissions of this son with all possible appearances of joy; though he saw very well, that matters had been carried too far, and sufficiently knew the reserved and crafty humour of Aureng-Zebe, and his secret passion for reigning; and that therefore he was not much to be trusted, for all his fair words. And yet notwithstanding he suffers himself to be circumvented, and instead of playing the surest chart, by using his utmost power, by stirring, by appearing, by causing himself to be carried through the town, and by assembling all the *Omraks*, (for it was yet time to do all this) he goes about to outwit Aureng-Zebe, him that was his Crafts-Master, and attempts to draw him into a snare, wherein he will be found taken himself. He then sends also an eunuch to his son, to let him know, that he well understood the ill conduct, and even the incapacity of Dara; that he could not but call to mind the particular inclination he always had and expressed towards him, that he could not doubt of his affection; and lastly, that he should come to see him, and to advise with him what was fit to be done in these disorders; and that he passionately wished to embrace him.

Aureng-Zebe, on his side, saw also well enough, that he was not to trust too much to the words of Chah-Jehan, knowing especially, that Begum-Saheb, his enemy as well as sister, was night and day about him, and that 'twas very probable, he acted nothing but by her motion. And he apprehended, that if he should come into the fortress, he might be seized on, and ill-treated; as it was said, that the resolution was indeed taken to do so, and several of those lusty Tartarian women, which serve in the Seraglio, were armed to set upon him as soon as he should enter. Whatever it be, he would never hazard himself, and yet spread a rumour abroad, that the next day he would go to see his father Chah-Jehan. But when the day was come, he put it off till another, and so he delayed it from day to day, without ever making the visit. In the mean time he continued his secret negotiations and cabals, and sounded the mind of all the greatest *Ontrahis*, so far, that at last, after he had well and closely laid his design, and politically disposed all things for the success thereof, all were amazed to see, that one day, when he had sent Sultan Mahmoud, his eldest son, to the fortress, under a pretence of seeing Chah-Jehan in his name; this young Prince, bold and undertaking, falls presently on the guards that were at the gate, and vigorously driveth all before him, whilst a great number of men appointed, who were there all ready, did enter with fury, and made themselves masters of the walls.

If ever a man was astonished, Chah-Jehan was, seeing that he was fallen into the snare which he had prepared for others, that himself was imprisoned and Aureng-Zebe master of the fortress. 'Tis said that he

presently sent to sound the mind of Sultan Mahmoud, promising him upon his Crown and upon the *Alcoran*, that if he would be faithful to him, and serve him in this conjuncture, he would make him King ; that he should come presently to see him within, and not lose this occasion : besides, that it would be an action that would accumulate on him the blessings of Heaven, and an immortal glory ; in regard it would be said for ever, that Sultan Mahmoud had delivered Chah-Jehan his grandfather out of prison.

And certainly, if Sultan Mahmoud had been resolute enough to give this stroke, and Chah-Jehan could have come abroad to shew himself to the town, and take the field, no man doubts, but all his great *Onrahs* would have followed him ; nor would Aureng-Zebe himself have had the boldness nor the savageness to fight against his own father in person, especially since he must have apprehended, that all the world would have abandoned him, and possibly Morad-Bakche himself. And 'tis indeed the great fault which Chah-Jehan is observed to have committed after the battle, and the flight of Dara, not to have come out of the fortress. But yet I have conversed with many, who maintained that Chah-Jehan did prudently in it. For this hath been a question much agitated among politicians, and there are no reasons wanting to countenance the sentiment of the latter sort ; who also add, that men almost always judge of things by the event ; that often very foolish enterprises have been observed to succeed, and which therefore are approved by all ; that if Chah-Jehan had prospered in his design, he would have been esteemed the most prudent and the most able man in the world.

but now being taken, he was nothing but a good old man, that suffer'd himself to be led by a woman, his daughter Begum, which was blinded by her passion, and had the vanity to believe, that Aureng-Zebe would come to see her, that the bird of itself would fly into the case, or at least, that he would never be so bold as to attempt the seizure of the fortress, nor have the power to do so. These same reasoners maintaining also stiffly, that the greatest fault that Sultan Mahmoud could possibly commit, was, that he knew not how to take the occasion to assure himself of the Crown, by the rarest and the most generous action that ever was, to put his grandfather at liberty, and thus to do himself right and Justice, as the sovereign umpire of affairs ; whereas, as things now stand, he must one day go and dye in Goualeor. But Sultan Mahmoud (whether it was that he feared his grandfather would not keep his word with him, or that he should be himself detained within, or that he durst not play tricks with his father Aureng-Zebe) would never hearken to any thing, nor enter into the apartment of Chah-Jehan, answering very closely, that he had no order from his father to go and see him, but that he was by him commanded not to return, without bringing him the keys of all the gates of the fortress, that so he might come with all safety to kiss the feet of his Majesty. There passed almost two whole days before he could resolve to surrender the keys ; during which time, Sultan Mahmoud staid there, unalterable in his resolutions, keeping him self upon his guard night and day, with all his troops about him ; till at length Chah-Jehan, seeing that all his people that

were upon the guard at the little gate, little by little disbanded, and that there was no more safety on his side, gave him the keys, with an order to tell Aureng-Zebe, that he should come presently if he were wise, and that he had most important things to discourse with him about. But Aureng-Zebe was too cunning to commit so gross a fault: on the contrary, he made his eunuch Etbarkan Governor of the fortress, who presently shut up Chah-Jehan, together with Begum-Saheb, and all his women; causing divers gates to be walled up, that so he might not be able to write or speak to any body, nor go forth out of his apartment without permission.

Aureng-Zebe in the meantime writ to him a little note, which he shewed to every body before he sealed it; in which, among other things, he told him with dry expressions, that he knew from good hands, that notwithstanding those great protestations of esteem and affection he made to him, and of contempt he made of Dara, he had, for all that, sent to Dara two elephants charged with Rupies of gold, to raise him again, and to re-commence the war; and that therefore, in truth, it was not he that imprisoned him, but Dara, and that he might thank him for it, as the cause of all these misfortunes; and if it had not been for him, he would have come the very first day to him, and paid him all the most dutiful respects he could have looked for from a good son: that, for the rest, he begged his pardon, and a little patience; as soon as he should have disenabled Dara from executing his evil designs, he would come himself and open the gates to him.

I have heard it said concerning this note, that

Chah-Jehan in very deed, the same night that Dara departed, had sent to him these elephants laden with Rupies of gold, and that it was Rauchenara-Begum that found a way to discover it to Aureng-Zebe ; as she also had detected to him that plot, which was laid against him with those Tartarian women ; and that Aureng-Zebe himself had intercepted some letters of Chah-Jehan to Dara.

I have conversed with others, that maintain there is no such thing, and that this writing, which Aureng-Zebe shewed to all, was only to cast sand into the eyes of the people, and to labour, in some degree, to justify himself in so strange an action, and to devolve the cause of it upon Chah-Jehan and Dara, as if he had been forced to such proceedings. They are things, which are difficult enough well to discover. However it be, as soon as Chah-Jehan was shut up, almost all the *Omrahs* were in a manner necessitated to go and make their court to Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bakche : and (which is almost incredible) there was not one that had the courage to stir, or to attempt the least in the behalf of his king, and for him that had made them what they were, and raised them from the dust, and perhaps from slavery, it self (which is ordinary enough in that court) to advance them to riches and honour. Yet some few there are, as Danechmend-Kan, and some others, that took no side ; but all the rest declared for Aureng-Zebe.

'Tis notwithstanding to be noted what I said, that they were necessitated to do what they did. For 'tis not in the Indies, as in France, or other States of Christendom, where the *grandees* and nobles have

large possessions of land, and great revenues, which enables them for a while to subsist of themselves. There they have nothing but pensions (as I have already touched above) which the King can take away from them at all hours, and thus ruin them in an instant; so that they shall be considered no more than if they never had been, nor have any credit to borrow a farthing.

Aureng-Zebe therefore having thus assured himself of Chah-Jehan, and of all the *Omrahs*, took what sums of money he thought fit out of the treasury; and then having left Chah-hest-Kan, his uncle, Governor of the town, he went away with Morad-Bakche to pursue Dara.

The day that the army was to march out of Agra the particular friends of Morad-Bakche, especially his eunuch Chah-Abas, who knew, that the excess of civility and respect is ordinarily a sign of imposture, counselled him, that since he was King, and every body treated him with the title of Majesty, and Aureng-Zebe himself acknowledged him for such, he should let him go to pursue Dara, and stay himself with his troops about Agra and Dehli. If he had followed this counsel, 'tis certain, that he would have embarrassed Aureng-Zebe not a little; but 'twas fatal, that he should neglect so good advice: Aureng-Zebe is too fortunate; Morad-Bakche entirely confideth in his promises, and in the oaths of fidelity they had sworn to one another upon the *Alcoran*. They went away together, and went with the same pace towards Dehli.

When they were come to Maturas, three or four small days journey from Agra, the friends of Morad-Bakche,

who perceived something, endeavoured again to persuade him, that he should beware; assuring him that Aureng-Zebe had evil designs, and that beyond all doubt some mischief was upon the anvil; that they had notice of it from all parts, and that by no means, for that day at least, he should go to see him; that it would be much better to prevent this stroke the soonest it might be; that he was only to forbear going to visit him that day, excusing himself with some indisposition. But whatsoever could be said to him he believed nothing of it, his ears were stopped to all the good advice that was given him, and as if he had been enchanted by the friendship of Aureng-Zebe, he could not hold to go to him that very night, and to stay at supper with him. As soon as he was come, Aureng-Zebe, who expected him, and had already prepared all things with Mirkan; and three or four of his intimate Captains, was not wanting in embracements, and in redoubling his courtship, civilities and submissions, insomuch as gently to pass his handkerchief over his face, and to wipe off his sweat and dust, treating him still with the title king and Majesty. In the mean time the tables is served, they sup, the conversation grows warm, they discourse of various things as they use to do; and at last there is brought a huge bottle of excellent *Chiras* wine, and some other bottles of *Cabout* wine, for a debauch. Then Aureng-Zebe, as grave serious man, and one that would appear a great Mahumetan, and very regular, nimbly riseth from table, and having with much kindness invited Morad-Bakche, who loved a glass of wine very well, and who relished the wine that was served, scrupled not to drink of it to excess. In a

word, he made himself drunk, and fell asleep. This was the thing that was wished ; for presently some servants of his that were there, were commanded away, under a pretence, to let him sleep without making any noise ; and then his Zable and Ponyard were taken from about him : but Aureng-Zebe was not long, but came himself and wakened him. He entred into the chamber and roughly hit him with his foot, and when he began to open a little his eyes, he made to him this short and surprising reprimand : “What means this,” said he, “what shame and what ignominy is this, that such a King as you are, should have so little temper, as thus to make himself drunk ? What will be said both of you and me ? Take this infamous man, this drunkard, tye him hand and foot, and throw him into that room to sleep out his wine.” No sooner said, but it was executed ; notwithstanding all his appeal and out-cry, five or six persons fall upon him and fetter his hands and feet. The things could not be done, but some of his men that were thereabout had news of it. They made some noise, and would enter forcibly ; but Allah-Couly, one of his chief Officers, and the master of his artillery, that had been gained long before, threatned them, and made them draw back. Without any delay, men were sent through the whole army to calm this first commotion, which also might have proved dangerous ; they made them believe it was nothing, they having been present, that Morad-Bakche was only drunk, that in that condition he had railed at every body, and Aureng-Zebe himself, insomuch that there had been a necessity, seeing him drunk and furious, to keep him apart ; that the next day they would see him abroad, after he had

digested his wine. In the mean time, the presents walked about all night amongst the chief Officers of the army, their pay was forthwith encreased, they had great promises made them; and as there was none, that had not long since apprehended some such thing, there was no great wonder to see almost all things quieted the next morning; so that the very next night this poor Prince was shut up in a little close house, such an one as is wont to be placed on elephants to carry women. and he was carried directly to Dehli into Slimager, which is a little old fortress in the midst of the river.

After that all was thus appeased, except the eunuch Chah-Abas, who caused difficulty enough, Aureng-Zebe received the whole army of Morad-Bakche into his service, and went after Dara, who marched apace towards Lahor, with an intention well to fortifie himself in that place, and thither to draw his friends. But Aureng-Zebe followed him with so much speed, that he had not time to do any great matter, finding himself necessitated to retreat, and to take the way of Multan, where also he could do nothing considerable, because Aureng-Zebe, notwithstanding the great heat, marched night and day; insomuch, that to encourage all to make haste, he sometimes advanced almost all alone two or three leagues before the whole army, finding himself often obliged to drink ill water like others, to be content with a crust of dry bread, and to sleep under a tree, staying for his army in the midst of the high-way laying his head on his shield like a common soldier. So that Dara found himself constrained to abandon Multan also, that he might avoid being near Aureng-Zebe,

whom he was not able to encounter. Here 'tis that the Statesmen of this countrey have reasoned very diversly : for 'tis said, that if Dara, when he went out of Lahor, and cast himself into the kingdom of Caboul; as he was advised, he would there have found above ten thousand warlick men, designed against the Augans, the Persians, and the Usbecs, and for a guard to that countrey, the Governor whereof was Mohabet-Kan, one of the most potent and the most ancient of Indostan, and that had never been Aureng-Zebe's friends ; that, besides, he would have been there at the gate of Persia and Usbec ; that he was likely, that there being no want of money, all that militia and Mohabet-Kan himself, would have embraced his party ; and that further, he might have drawn assistance, not only from Usbec, but also from Persia, as well as from Houmayon, whom the Persians had restored to his country against Zaher-Kan, King of the Patans, who had driven him thence. But Dara was too unfortunate to follow so good advice. Instead of that he went towards Scimdy, to cast himself into the fortress of Tatabakar, that strong and famous place, seated in the midst of the river Indus.

Aureng-Zebe seeing him take this way, found it not fit to follow him further off, being extremely glad that he had not taken the way to Caboul. He contented himself to send after him seven or eight thousand men under the conduct of Mir-baba, his foster-brother, and turned back with the same expedition to the place whence he was come, much apprehending lest any thing should fall out about Agra ; lest some or other of those potent Rajah's, as Jesseigne, or Jessomseigne, should make an attempt in his absence, to free Chah-Jehan out

of prison ; or lest Soliman Chekouh, together with the Raja of Serenaguter, should descend from the hills ; or lest also Sultah Sujah should approach too near Agra. Behold a little accident, which one day befell him, for too great precipitation.

When he thus returned from Multan towards Lahor, and marched his ordinary swift pace, he saw the Raja Jesseigne come against him, accompanied with four or five thousand of his Ragipous, in a very good equipage ; Aureng-Zebe, who had left his army behind, and who also knew that this Raja was very affectionate to Chah-Jehan, was sufficiently surprised, as may easily be imagined, fearing lest this Raja should make use of this occasion, and do a master-piece of State, by setting on him, to draw Chah-Jehan out of prison, which at that time was very easie to do. Neither is it known, whether this Raja had not some such design ; for he had marched with extraordinary speed, insomuch that Aureng-Zebe had no news of it, believing him yet to be at Dehli. But what may not resolution and presence of mind do ? Aureng-Zebe, without any alteration of his countenance, marched directly towards the Raja, and as far off as he could see him, maketh signs to him with his hands, importing that he should make hast to a nearer approach, crying out to him with a loud voice, "*Salamed Bached Rajagi, Salamed Bached Babagi*" treating him with the titles of Lord Raja, and Lord Father. When the Raja was come to him : "I expected you," said he, "with great impatience ; the work is done, Dara is lost, he is all alone ; I have sent Mir-baba after him, from whom he cannot escape : " and for an excess of kindness to him, he took off his neck-lace of pearls, and

put it about the neck of this Raja : and the sooner to rid himself handsomely of him, (for he wished him far enough) "Go" saith he, "with all the expedition you can to Lahor, my army is somewhat tyred; go quickly to attend there ; I apprehend that else something sinister might fall out there ; I make you governor of that place, and put all things into your hands. For the rest, I am exceedingly obliged to you for what you have done with Soliman Chekouh : where have you left Delil-Kan ? I shall find my revenge of him. Make all possible dispatch, *Salamed Bached* farewell."

Dara being arrived at Tata-baker, made Governor of that place a very understanding, gallant, and generous eunuch, with a very good garrison of Patans and Sayeds ; and for Cannoneers, a good number of *Franguis*, Portugals, English, French, and Germans. who had followed him out of great hopes he had given them, (for if his affairs had prospered and he were become King, we must all have resolved to be *Onrahs* as many *Franguis* as we were.) He there left also the greatest part of his treasure ; he wanted as yet no gold nor silver ; and staying there but a very few days, he marched away with two or three thousand men only, descending along the river Indus towards Scindy, and from thence crossing with an incredible celerity all those territories of the Raja Katche, he arrived in Guzaratte, and came to the gates of Amadevat. The father-in-law of Aureng-Zebe, called Chah-Navaze-Kan, was Governor there, with a very good garrison, able to resist. Yet notwithstanding, whether it was that he was surprised, or that he wanted courage (for although he was of those ancient

Princes of Machate, yet he was no great souldier, though a man of a very obliging and civil conversation, he did not oppose Dara, but rather received him very honourably, and even managed him afterwards with so much dexterity, that Dara was so simple as to trust himself with him, and to communicate to him his designs; in-somuch as that he shewed him the letters which he received from the Raja Jessomseigne, and of many other of his friends, which prepared themselves to come to him; although it proved too true, what every body told him, and his friends confirmed by letters, that certainly this Chah-Navaze-Kan would betray him.

Never was any man more surprised than Aureng-Zebe, when he heard that Dara was in Amadevat: for he well knew, that he wanted no money, and that all his friends, and all the discontented party, which was numerous, would not fail to betake themselves by little and little to him: and on the other side, he found it not safe to go and find him out himself in that place, by removing himself so far from Agra and Chah-Jehan, to go and embarase himself in all those countries of the Rajah's Jesseigne, Jessomseigne, and others, that are in those provinces. Besides, he apprehended, lest Sultan Sujah should advance with a strong army, which was already about Elabas, and lest the Raja of Serenaguer should descend from the Hills with Soliman Chekouh: so that he was sufficiently perplexed and troubled, not knowing which way to turn. At last he believed it best to leave Dara for a time quiet where his was, and to go thither where his presence and army was most necessary, which was towards Sultan Sujah, who had already passed the river Ganges at Elabas.

This Sultan Sujah was come to encamp in a little village called Cadjoue, and had conveniently seized himself of a great *Talab*, or reservatory of water, which is there in the way ; and Aureng-Zebe came to place himself on the side of a small torrent at the distance of a mile and a half from thence, on Agra's side. Between both was a very fair campagne, very proper for a battel. Aureng-Zebe was no sooner arrived, but being impatient to end this war, at break of day he went to face Sujah leaving his baggage on the other side of the torrent. He fell upon Sujah with an effort unimaginaire. Emir-Jemla, prisoner of Decan and who arrived just on the day of the combat, fearing Dara no more, because his family was more in safety, did there also lay out all his force, courage, and dexterity. But seeing that Sultan Sujah had well fortified himself and was accompanied with a very good artillery, advantageously placed, it was not possible for Aureng-Zebe to force him, nor to make him retreat from thence, so as to make him lose those waters. On the contrary, he was obliged himself to draw back several times, so vigorously was he repulsed, insomuch that he found himself in great perplexity. Sultan Sujah not being willing to advance too far in to the Campagne, nor to remove from that advantageous place where he was, pretending only to defend himself : which was very prudently done. For he foresaw, that Aureng-Zebe could not stay there long, and that in that hot season he would be absolutely obliged to turn back towards the torrent for the water ; and that, when he should do so he would fall upon his rear. Aureng-Zebe also foresaw well enough the

same thing, and that was the reason why he was so forward and pressing; but behold another more troublesome accident.

In this very time he receiveth intelligence, that the Raja Jessomseigne, who in appearance had accommodated himself with him, was fallen upon his rear, and plundred his baggage and treasure. This news astonished him much, and the more, because he perceived that his army which had heard of it was thereby frightened, and fallen into disorder. Yet he loses not his judgement for all this; and being well aware, that to turn back was to hazard all, he resolved, as in the battle of Dara, to bear up the best he could and to expect with a steady foot all events. In the mean time, the disorder grew worse and worse in his army: Sujah who was resolved to profit of the occasion taketh his time, and presseth him vigorously. He that led Aureng-Zebe's elephant is killed with the shot of an arrow; he leads the beast as well as he can himself, till another could be had in that leaders place. Arrows rain upon him; he returns many himself, his elephant begins to be frightened, and to go back. Behold him now in great extremity, and brought to that point, that one foot of his was out of the seat, as if he meant to cast himself to the ground; and no man knows what in that trouble he had not done, if Emir-Jemla, being nigh, and performing like a great man as he was, beyond imagination, called to him, in holding up his hand: "*Decan-Kou Decau-Kou* where is Decan?" This seems to have been the greatest extremity, to which Aureng-Zebe could be reduced. One would have aid, 'twas now and here that fortune

had abandon'd him, and there is almost no appearance of a possibility to escape. But his good fortune is stronger than all that: Sultan Sujah must be routed, and take flight, like Dara, to save his life: Aureng-Zebe must remain victorious, carry away the bell, and be King of the Indies.

We are to remember the battel of Samonguer, and that, in appearance, flight accident which ruined Dara. 'Tis the same over-sight, or rather the same treason, which is now destroying Sultan Sujah. One of his chief Captains, Allah-verdi-Kan, who (as some say) had been gained, useth the same artifice that Calil-ullah-Kan had employed towards Dara; though there were some who believed, that there was no malice in the case, and that it was a meer piece of flattery. For seeing that the whole army of Aureng-Zebe was in disorder, he ran towards Sultan Sujah, telling him the same thing, that Calil-ullah-Kan did to Dara, and begging of him with folded hands, that he would stay no longer "in so great danger upon his elephant. "Come down," said he, "in the name of God, mount on horseback, God hath made you sovereign of the Indies, let us pursue the fugitives, let not Aureng-Zebe escape us."

But not to stay long from declaring the strange fortune of Aureng-Zebe, and the incredible conjuncture that recovers his desperate condition; Sultan Sujah, not more considerate than Dara, commits the same fault; and he was no sooner come down from his elephant, but his army seeing him no more, was struck with a terror, believing there was treason, and that he was either taken or slain. Whereupon they disbanded,

without any more ado, as Dara's army did in the battel of Samonguer ; and the defeat was so great, that the Sultan was fortunate in that he could save himself.

Jessomseigne hearing this unexpected news, and perceiving it was not very safe for him to tarry there, contented himself with the spoil he had got, and with all diligence marched streight to Agra, thence to pass to his countrey. The noise was already in Agra, that Aureng-Zebe had lost the battel ; that he was taken, together with Emir-Jemla, and that Sultan-Sujah brought them both prisoners. Insomuch, that Chah-hest-Kan, who was Governor of the town, and uncle to Aureng-Zebe, seeing Jessomseigne, whose treachery he had heard of, at the gates, and despairing of his life, had taken into his hand a cup of poyson to make himself away, and had, as they say, in very deed swallowed it ; if his women had not fallen upon him, and hindred him : so that 'tis thought, if Jessomseigne had had the wit and courage to stay longer in Agra, if he had threatned boldly, and promised and acted vigorously for the freedom of Chah-Jehan, he might have drawn him out of prison : so much the more easily, because all Agra was for two whole days in that belief, that Aureng-Zebe was overcome. But Jessomseigne, who knew how all things went, and who durst not long stay there, nor attempt any thing, did nothing but pass, returning with all speed home-wards.

Aureng-Zebe, who apprehended mischief from Agra, and fear'd lest Jessomseigne should undertake something for Chah-Jehan, was not long in the pursuit after Sultan Sujah ; he turn'd short for Agra with

his whole army, where he stay'd a good while, giving order for all things. Mean time he received intelligence that Sultan Sujah had not lost many men in his being routed, for want of further pursuit ; that also from the lands of the Rajas which are in those quarters, on the right and left of Ganges he raised great forces, upon the score of the reputation he had of being very rich and very liberal, and that he fortified himself in Elabas, that important and famous passage of Ganges, which, with its fortress, is the first in-let into Bengale. And then he considered also, that he had about him two persons, which indeed were very capable to serve him, Sultan Mahmoud his eldest son, and Emir-Jemla ; but he well knew, that those who have done good service to their prince, grow often insolent, in the belief, that all is due to them, and that they cannot be recompenced enough. He perceived already, that the former of them began very much to emancipate himself, and that every day he became more arrogant, for having seized on the fortress of Agra, and by that means had broken all the designs which Chah-Jehan could have formed. And as to the latter he knew indeed the force of his understanding, his conduct, and valour ; but that was the very thing which made him apprehend him the more : for knowing that he was very rich, that his reputation was great, that he passed for the first mover in affairs, and for the ablest man in all the Indies, he doubted not, but that after the example of Sultan Mahmoud, he entertain'd himself with big hopes. All this certainly would have been able to perplex an ordinary spirit, but Aureng-Zebe found a remedy to all. He knew to

remove them both with so much prudene, and even with so much handsomness, that neither of them found any cause to complain of it. He sent them both against Sultan Sujah with a puissant army, letting Emir secretly know, that the Government of Bengale, which is the best quarter of Indostan, was design'd for him, to hold it during his life, and for his son after his decease; and that thereby he would begin to express to him his acknowledgments for the great services he had him; and that therefore it belonged only to him to defeat Sujah, and that as soon as he should have compassed it, he would make him *Mir-ul Omrahs*, which is the first and the most honourable place of Indostan, and no less than the Prince of the *Omrahs*.

To Sultan Mahmoud his son, he said only these few words: "Remember that thou art the eldest of my children, that 'tis for thy self thou goest forth to fight; that thou hast done much, but yet nothing, if thou overcomest not Sujah, who is our greatest and powerfulest enemy; I hope, God assisting me, to be soon master of the rest."

With these words he dismissed them both, with ordinary honours, that is with rich vests, some horses and elephants gallantly harnessed; making in the mean time Emir-Jemla to consent, that his only son, Mahmet Emir-Kan, should stay with him for a good education, or rather for a pledge of his fidelity; and Sultan Mahmoud, that his wife should remain in Agra (which was the daughter of the above-mention'd King of Golkonda) as too troublesom a thing in an army, and in such an expedition.

Sultan Sujah, who was always in the apprehension,

lest the Raja's of the lower Bengale, which he had ill treated, should be raised against him, and who feared nothing more than to have to do with Emir-Jemla, had no sooner received this news, but apprehending that the passage to Bengale would be obstructed, and that Emir would pass in some other place the river Ganges, either lower or higher than Elabas, raised his camp, and went down to Benares and Patna whence he betook himself to Mogiere, a small town seated upon the Ganges, a place commonly call'd the key of the kingdom of Bengale, being a kind of streight between the mountains and the woods, which are not far from thence. He thought fit to stay in that place, and there to foreifie himself; and for greater safety, he caused a great trench to be made, which I have seen, passing that way some years after, from the town and river unto mountain, being well resolved there to attend Emir-Jemla, and to dispute that passage with him. But he was sufficiently astonish'd, when he was told that the troops of Emir, which slowly descended along the river Ganges were certainly for nothing but to amuse him; that himself was not there; that he had gained the Raja's of those mountains, which are on the right hand of the river; and that he and Sultan Mahmoud marched apace over their lands with all the flower of the army, drawing straight to Rage-Mehalle, to intercept him: so that he was constrained to quiet, as soon as he could, his fortifications; yet notwithstanding he made so much haste, that though he was obliged to follow those windings, which the river Ganges on that side maketh towards the left hand, he prevented Emir by some days, and arrived first at Rage-Mehalle, where he had time to

fortifie himself ; because Emir having heard the news, took his march to the left hand towards Ganges, through very ill ways, there to expect his troops, which came down with the body of the artillery and the baggage along the river. As soon as all was come, he went to attaque Sultan Sujah, who defended himself very well for five or six days ; but seeing that the artillery of Emir, which played incessantly, ruined all his fortifications, which were made but of sandy earth and fagots, and that he could not but with much difficulty make resistance in that place, besides the season of the rain began, he retired himself, at the favour of the night, leaving behind two great peeces of cannon. Emir durst not follow him in the night, for fear of some ambush, putting off the pursuit 'till the next morning : but Sujah had the good luck, that at the break of day there began to fall a rain, which lasted above three days ; so that Emir could not only stir out of Rage-Mahelle, but saw himself obliged to pass the winter there, by reason of the excessive rains in that countrey, which render the ways so troublesom for more than four months, viz. July, August, September, and October, that the armies cannot possibly march. And hereby Sultan Sujah had the means to retire himself, and to chuse what place he would, having time enough to fortifie his army, and to send out of the inferiour Bengale for many peeces of cannon, and a good number of Portugals, that were retired thither, because of the great fertility of the countrey : for he much courted all those Portugal Fathers, Missionaries, that are in that province, promising them no less than that he would make them all rich, and build Churches for them wheresoever they

would. And they were indeed capable to serve him, it being certain, that in the kingdom of 'Bengale there are to be found no less than eight or nine thousand families *Fraguis*, Portugals, and these either natives or mesticks.

But Sultan Mahmoud, who, for the reason above mentioned, was grown fierce, and aspired, perhaps, to greater things than at that time he ought, did pretend to command the army absolutely, and that Emir-Jemla should follow his orders, letting also from time to time fall insolent words in reference to his father Aureng-Zebe, as if he were obliged to him for the Crown and uttering expressions of contempt and threat against Emir-Jemla; which caused great coldness betwixt them two, which lasted a pretty while, until Sultan Mahmoud understood, that his father was very much dissatisfied with his conduct; and apprehending, lest Emir had order to seize on his person, he went away to Sultan Sujah, accompanied with a very small number, and to him he made great promises, and swore fidelity. But Sujah, who feared Aureng-Zebe and Emir-Jemla's snares, could not trust him, having always an eye upon his actions, without giving him any considerable command; which he so disgusted, that some months after, not knowing what would become of him, he left Sultan Sujah, and returned to Emir, who received him well enough assuring him, that he would write in his behalf to Aureng-Zebe, and do his utmost to make him forget that fault.

I think fit here to take notice, on the by, of what many have told me, viz. that this escape of Sultan Mahmoud was altogether made by the artifices of

Aureng-Zebe, who cared not much to hazard this son of his to try to destroy Sujah, and who was glad enough that whatever the event were, he might have a specious pretence to put him in a place of surety. However it be, he afterwards shew'd himself much dissatisfied with him, and wrote to him a severe letter, in which he enjoin'd him to return to Dehli, but giving order in the mean time, that he should not come so far : for he no sooner had passed the river Ganges, but he met with troops that stopt him, and put him up in a small chair, (as was done to Morad-Bakche) and carried him to Goualeor, whence 'tis thought he will never be set at liberty : Aureng-Zebe by this means freeing himself from great perplexity ; who then also let his second son, Sultan Mazum, know, that the point of reigning is so delicate a thing, that Kings must be jealous even of their own shadow : adding, that if he be not discreet, the like many befall him what had befallen his brother, and that he ought to think Aureng-Zebe was not a man, that would suffer that to be done to himself, what Chah-Jehan did to his father Jehan-Guyre, and what he had also lately seen done to Chah-Jehan.

And indeed we may on this occasion say, that if this son continue to behave himself as he hath done hitherto, Aureng-Zebe will have no cause to suspect him, and to be dissatisfied with him : for no slave can be more tractable, and Aureng-Zebe himself never appear'd more careless, of greatness, nor more given to devotion than he : yet I have known men of parts, who believed, that he is not so in good earnest, but by superlative policy and craft, like that of his father, which we may have the proof of in time.

Whilst all these these things were thus transacted in Bengale, and that Sultan^s Sujah resisted the best he could the forces of Emir-Jemla passing now on one side of the river Ganges, of a channel, or some other river, (for that countrey is full of them) then on the other; Aureng-Zebe kept himself about Agra, going to and fro; and at length, after he had also sent Morad-Bakche to Goualeor, he came to Dehli, where in good earnest he took upon him publickly to act the King, giving order for all affairs of the kingdom, and especially thinking on means to catch Dara, and to get him out of Guzaratte, which was a very hard thing, for the reasons already mentioned. But the great good fortune, and the singular dexterity of Aureng-Zebe soon drew him thence, which now follows next to be related.

Jessomseigne, who had retired himself to his countrey, and made the best of what he had taken in the battel of Kadjoue, raised a strong army, and wrote to Dara, that he should come to Agra as soon as he could, and that he would join with his forces. Dara, who had by this time set on foot a pretty numerous army, (though it consisted, for the most part, but of gathered people) and who hoped, that approaching to Agra, many of his old friends, seeing him with Jessomseigne, would not fail to join with him also, immediately leaveth Amadevad, and marcheth with great speed to Asmire, seven or eight days journey from Agra. But Jessomseigne kept not his word with him: the Raja Jesseigne interposed to make his peace with Aureng-Zebe, and to fasten him to his party; or, at least, to hinder his design, which was capable to

ruin himself, and to make all the Raja's rise; and wrote to him several letters, giving him to understand the great danger he went to expose himself to, by espousing a party in that extremity, as that of Dara's was; that he should well consider what he was going to do: that he went about wholly to destroy himself, and all his whole family; that Aureng-Zebe would never forgive him; that he was a Raja as himself; that he should think on sparing the blood of the Ragipous; that if he thought to draw the Raja's to his party, he would find those that would hinder him from it. In a word, that it was a business which concern'd all the gentry of Indostan, and exposed them to danger, if way were given to kindle a fire, which would not be extinguish'd at pleasure. And lastly, if he would leave Dara to himself, Aureng-Zebe would forget all that had passed, and present him with all he had taken, and give him that very instant the Government of Guzaratte, which would be very convenient for him, that countrey being near his lands; that he could be there in full liberty and safety, and as long as he pleased, and that himself would be caution for all. In a word, this Raja acted his part so well, that he made Jessomseigne return to his land whilst Aureng-Zebe approached with his whole army to Asmire, and encamped in the sight of that of Dara.

And now what could this poor Prince Dara do? He seeth himself abandoned, and frustrated of his hopes. He considers, that to turn back safe to Amadevad was impossible, in regard that it was a march of thirty and five days; that it was in the heat of summer; that

water would fail him ; that they were all the lands of Raja's, friends or allies of Jesseigne or Jessomseigne ; that the army of Aureng-Zebe, which was not harassed like his, would not fail to follow him. "'Tis as good" saith he, "to perish here ; and although the match be altogether unequal, let us venture all, and give battel once more." But alas ! what does he mean to do ? He is not only abandoned by all, but he hath yet with him Chah-Navaze-Kan, whom he trusts, and who betrays him, and discovers all his designs to Aureng-Zebe. 'Tis true, that Chah-Navaze-Kan was punish'd for his perfidiousness, and kill'd in the battel ; whether it was by the hands of Dara himself, as many told me, or (which is more probable) by some of Aureng-Zebe's army, who being secret partisans of Dara, found means to get to him, and to dispatch him, fearing lest he should discover them, and have some knowledge of the letters they had written to Dara. But what did it benefit him at that time, that Chah-Navaze-Kan was dead ? Dara should have sooner follow'd the advice of his friends, and never have confided in him.

The fight began between nine and ten of the clock in the morning : Dara's artillery, which was very well placed on a little eminency, was loud enough ; but as was said, most of the peeces without bullets ; so was he betray'd by all ! 'Tis needless to retate the other particulars of this battel ; it was properly not a battel, but a rout. I shall only say, that hardly the onset was begun, but Jesseigne was near and in sight of Dara, to whom he sent word, that he should flie presently, unless he would be taken. So that this poor Prince, being altogether surprised, was constrained to

run away instantly, and with so much disorder and precipitation, that he had not leisure to put up his baggage. It was no small matter, that he was able to get away with his wife, and the rest of his family. And 'tis certain, that if the Raja-Jesseigne would have done what he could, he could never have escaped; but he always had a respect to the Royal family; or rather, he was too crafty and politick, and had too great forecast, to venture to lay hands on a Prince of the Blood.

This unfortunate Prince, deserted by almost all, and finding himself accompanied but of two thousand men at most, was forced in the hottest of summer to cross, without tents or baggage, all those countries of the Raja's, that are almost from Asmire to Amadevad. Mean time the *Koullis*, which are the countrey people, and the worst of all the Indies, and the greatest robbers, follow him night and day, rifle and kill his souldiers, and with so much cruelty, that no man could stay two hundred paces behind the body, but he was presently stripp'd naked, or butcher'd upon the least resistance. Yet not withstanding, Dara made shift to get near Amadevad, when he hoped, that the next day, or soon after, he should enter into the town to refresh himself, and to try once more to gather again some forces: but all things fall upon contrary to vanquished and unfortunate men.

The Governor, whom he had left in the castle of Amadevad, had already received both menacing and promising letters from Aureng-Zebe, which made him lose courage, and incline to that side; insomuch that he wrote to Dara, forbidding him to

come nearer, if he did, he would find the gates shut, and all in arms.

Three days before I met this unhappy Prince, by a strange accident, when he obliged me to follow him, having no physician about him ; and the night before that he received this news from the Governor of Amadevad, he did me the favor to make me come into the *Karavan-Serrak* where he was, fearing lest the *Koullis* should assassinate me : and (what is hard enough to believe in Indostan, where the grandees especially are so jealous of their wives) I was so near to the wife of this Prince, that the cords of the *Kanates*, or wind screen, which enclosed them (for they had not so much as a poor tent) were fastned to the wheels of my chariot. I relate this circumstance by the by only, to shew the extremity Dara was reduced to.

When these women heard this sad news (which was at the break of day, as I well remember) they broke out upon a sudden into such strange cries and lamentations, that they forced tears from ones eyes. And now behold all was in an unexpressible confusion : every one looks upon his neighbor, and no body knows what to do, or what will become of him. Soon after we saw Dara come forth, half dead, now speaking to one, then another, even to the meanest soldiers. He seeth all astonish'd, and ready to abandon him. What counsel ? Whither can he go ? He must be gone instantly. You may judge of the extremity he must needs be in, by this small accident I am going to mention. Of three great oxen of Guzaratte, which I have for my chariot, one died the night before,

another was dying, and the third was tyred out, (for we had been forced to march for three days together, almost night and day, in an intolerable heat and dust :) Whatever Dara could say or command, whether he alledged it was for himself, or for one of his women that was hurt in her leg, or for me; he could not possibly procure for me, whether ox or camel, or horse: so that he was obliged, to my good fortune, to leave me there. I saw him march away, and that with tears in his eyes, accompanied with four or five hundred cavaliers at most, and with two elephants, that were said to be laden with gold and silver; and I heard them say, that they were to take their march towards Tatabakar; for he had no other game to play, though even that seem'd in a manner impossible, considering the small number of people left him, and the great sandy desarts to be waded through in the hottest season, most of them without water fit to drink. And indeed most of those that follow'd him, and even divers of his women, did there perish, either of drought, or the unwholsom waters, or the tiresom ways and ill-food; or lastly, because stripped by the *Koullis* above-mention'd. Yet notwithstanding all this, Dara made hard shift to get to the Raja Katche; unhappy even herein, that he perish'd not himself in this march.

This Raja at first gave him a very good reception, even so far as to promise him assistance with all his forces, provided he would give his daughter in marriage to his son. But Jesseigne soon wrought as much with this Raja, as he had done with Jessomseigne; so that Dara one day seeing the kindness of this barbarian, cooled upon a sudden, and that consequently his person

was in danger there, he betakes himself to the pursuit of his expedition to Tatabakar.

To relate how I got away from those robbers, the *Koullis*, in what manner I moved them to compassion, how I saved the best part of my small treasure, how we became good friends by the means of my profession of physick, my servants (perplexed as well as myself) swearing that I was the greatest physician of the world, and that the people of Dara, at their going away, had ill treated me, and taken from me all my best things: how, after having kept me with them seven or eight days, they had so much kindness and generosity, as to lend me an ox, and to conduct me so far, that I was in sight of Amadevad: and lastly, how from thence after some days I returned to Delhi, having lighted on an occasion to go with a certain *Omrah* passing thither; in which journey I meet from time to time, on the way, with carkasses of men, elephants, oxen, horses, and camels, the remainder of that unfortunate army of Dara. There are things, I say, I must not insist upon to describe them.

Whilst Dara advanced towards Tatabakar, the war continues in Bengale, and much longer than was believed, Sultan Sujah putting forth his utmost, and playing his last game against Emir-Jemla: yet this did not much trouble Aureng-Zebe, who knew 'twas a great way between Bengale and Agra, and was sufficiently convinced of the prudence and valor of Emir-Jemla. That which desquieted him much more was, that he saw Soliman Chekouh so near (for from Agra to the mountains tis but eight days jounery) whom he could not master, and who perpetually alarm'd him by the

rumors that went continually about, as if he were coming down the mountains with the Raja. 'Tis certainly very hard to draw him thence: but behold how he manages the matter to compass it.

He maketh the Raja Jesseigne write one letter after another to the Raja of Serenaguer, promising him very great things, if he would surrender Soliman Chekouh to him, and menacing war at the sametime, if he should obstinately keep him. The Raja answers, "That he would rather lose his estate, than do so unworthy an action." And Aureng-Zebe, seeing his resolution, taketh the field, and marcheth directly to the foot of the hills, and with an infinite numbr of pike-men causeth the rocks to be cut, and the passage to be widen'd. But the Raja laughs at all that; neither hath he much cause to fear on that side. Aureng-Zebe may cut long enough, they are mountains inaccessible to an army, and stones would be sufficient to stop the forces of four Indostans; so that he was constrained to turn back again.

Dara in the mean time approacheth to the fortress of Tatabakar, and when he was but two or three days journey off, he received news, that Mir-baba, who had long held it besieged, had at length reduced it to extremity: as I afterwards learned of our French, and other *Frangis* that were there, a pound of rice and meat having cost there above a crown, and so of other victuals in proportion: yet the Governour held out; made sallies, which extreemly incommoded the enemy; and shew'd all possible prudence, courage and fidelity; deriding the endeavours of the General, Mir-baba, and all the menaces and promises of Aureng-Zebe.

And this also I learned afterwards of my countrymen, the French, and of all those other *Franguis* that were with him ; who added, that when he heard Dara was not far off, he redoubled his liberalities, and knew so well to gain the hearts of all his souldiers, and to encourage them to do bravely, that there was not one of them, that was not resolved 'to sally out upon the enemy, and to hazard all to raise the siege, and to make Dara enter, and that he also knew so well to cast fear and terrour into the camp of Mir-baba, by sending spies about very cunningly to assure, that they had seen Dara approach with great resolution, and very good forces, that if he had come, as was believed he would do every moment, the army of the enemy was for disbanding upon his appearance, and even in part to go over to him. But he is still too unfortunate to undertake any thing prosperously. Believing therefore, that to raise the siege with such an handful men as he had, was impossible, he did deliberate to pass the river Indus, and to endeavour to get into Persia ; although that also would have had mighty difficulties and inconveniencies, by reason of the desarts, and the small quantity of good waters in those parts, besides, that upon those frontiers there are but mean Rajas and Patans, who acknowledge neither the Persian nor the Mogol. But his wife did very much dissuade him from it, for this weak reason, that he must, if he did so, expect to see his wife and daughter slaves of the King of Persia ; that was a thing altogether unworthy of the grandeur of his family, and 'twas better to die, than to undergo this infamy.

Dara, being in great perplexity, remembred, that

there was thereabout a certain Patan, powerful enough, called Gion-Kan, whose life he had formerly saved twice, when Chah-Jehan had commanded he should be cast under the feet of an elephant, for having rebelled divers times: he resolved to go to him, hoping that he could give him sufficient succours to raise the siege of Tatabakar; making account, that thence he would take his treasure, and that going from thence, and gaining Kandahar, he could cast himself into the kingdom of Caboul, having great hopes of Mohabet-Kan, who was Governour of it, because he was both potent and valiant, well beloved of his country, and had obtained this Government by his (Dara's) favour. But his grandchild, Sepe-Chekouh, yet but very young, seeing his design, cast himself at his feet, entreating him for God's sake not to enter into the country of that Patan. His wife and daughter did the same, remonstrating to him, that he was a robber, a revolted Governor, that he would infallibly betray him; that he ought not to stand upon the raising of the siege, but rather endeavour to gain Caboul, that the thing was not impossible, forasmuch as Mir-baba was not like to quiet the siege to follow him, and to hinder him from getting thither.

Dara, being carried head-long by the force of his unhappy destiny, rejected this counsel, and would hearken to nothing of what was proposed to him, saying as was true, that the march would be very difficult, and very dangerous; and maintaining always, that Gion-Kan would not be so mean, as to betray him, after all the good he had done him. He departed, notwithstanding all that could be said to him, and went to

prove, at the price of his life, that no trust is to be given to a wicked man.

This robber, who at first believed that he had numerous troops following him, gave him the fairest reception that could be, and entertain him with very great kindness and civility in appearance, placing his souldiers here and there among his subject, with a strict order to treat them well, and to give them what refreshments the country afforded: but when he found that he had not above two or three hundred men in all, he quickly shew'd what he was. It is not known, whether he had not received some letters from Aureng-Zebe, or whether his avarice had not been tempted by some mules said to be laden with gold; which was all that could be saved hitherto, as well from the hands of robbers, as of those that conveyed it. Whatever it be, on a certain morning, when no body looked for any such thing, all being taken up with the care of refreshing themselves, and believing all to be safe; behold his traitor, who had bestirr'd himself all night to get armed men from all parts, fell upon Dara and Sepe-Chekouh, killed some of their men that stood up to defend themselves; forgot not to seize on the loads of the mules, and of all the jewels of the women; made Dara to be tyed fast upon an elephant, commanding the executioner to sit behind, and to cut off his head upon the least sign in case he should be seen to resist, or that any one should attempt to deliver him. And in this strange posture he was carried to the army before Tata bakar, where he put him into the hands of Mir-baba, the General, who caused him to be conducted in the

company of this same traitor to Lahor, and thence to Dehli. .

When he was at the gates of Dehli, it was deliberated by Aureng-Zebe, whether he should be made to pass through the midst of the city, or no, to carry him thence to Goualeor. Many did advise, that that was by no means to be done ; that some disorder might arise ; that some might come to save him ; and besides, that it would be a great dishonour to the Family Royal. Others maintained the contrary, viz. that it was absolutely necessary he should pass through the town, to astonish the world, and to shew the absolute power of Aureng-Zebe, and to disabuse the people, that might still doubt, whether it were himself, as indeed many *Omrahs* did doubt ; and to take away all hopes from those, who still preserved some affection for him. The opinion of these last was followed ; he was put on an elephant, his grand-child, Sepe-Chekouh, at his side ; and behind them was placed Bhadur-Kan, as an executioner. This was none of those brave elephants of Ceilan or Pegu, which he was wont to ride on, with gilt harness and embroidered covers, and seats with canopies very handsomely painted and gilt, to defend themselves from the sun : it was an old caitiff animal, very dirty and nasty, with an old torn cover, and a pitiful seat, all open. There was no more seen about him, that necklace of big pearls, which those Princes are wont to wear, nor those rich turbants and vests embroider'd. All his dress was a vest of course linnen, all dirty, and a turbant of the same, with a wretched scarf of *Kachimere* over his head, like a varlet ; his grand-son, Sepe-Chekouh,

being in the same equipage. In this miserable posture he was made enter into the town, and to pass through the greatest merchant-streets, to the end that all the people might see him, and entertain no doubt any more whether it was he.

As for me, I fancied we went to see some strange massacre, and was astonish'd at the boldness of making him thus pass through the town; and that the more, because I knew that he was very ill guarded, neither was I ignorant, that he was very much beloved by the lower sort of people, who at that time exclaimed highly against the cruelty and tyranny of Aureng-Zebe, as one that kept his father in prison, as also his own son Sultan Mahmoud, and his brother Morad-Bakche. I was well prepar'd for it, and with a good horse and two good man I went together with two others of my friends, to place my self in the greatest street, where he was to pass. But not one man had the boldness to draw his sword, only there were some of the *Pakires*, and with them some poor people, who seeing that infamous Gion-Kan ride by his side, began to rail and throw stones at him, and to call him traitor. All the shops were ready to break for the crowd of spectators that wept bitterly; and there was heard nothing but loud out-cries and lamentations, invectives, and curses, heaped on Gion-Kan. In a word, men and women, great and small (such is the tenderness of the hearts of the Indians) were ready to melt into tears for compassion; but not one there was that durst stir to rescue him. Now after he had thus passed through the town, he was put into a garden called *Heider-Abad*.

There were not wanting to tell Aureng-Zebe, how the people at this sight had lamented Dara, and cursed the Patan, that had deliver'd him; and how the same was in danger to have been stoned to death, as also that there had been a great apprehension of some sedition and mischief. Hereupon another council was held, whether he should indeed be carried to Goualeor, as had been concluded before; or whether it were not more expedient to put him to death, without more ado? Some were of opinion, that he should go to Goualeor with a strong guard, that that would be enough; Danechmend-Kan though Dara's old enemy, insisting much upon that. But Rauchenara-Begum, in pursuance of her hatred against this brother of hers, pushed Aureng-Zebe to make him away, without running the danger there was in sending him to Goualeor; as also did all his old enemies, Catilubah-Khan, and Chah-hest-Kan, and especially a certain flatterer, a physitian, who was fled out of Persia, first called Hakim-Daoud, and afterwards being become a great *Omrah* named Takarrub-Kan: this villain boldly rose up in a full assembly, and cryed out, that it was expedient for the safety of the State to put him to death immediately, and that the rather, because he was no Mussulman; that long since he was turn'd *Kafer*, Idolater, without religion, and that he would charge the sin of it upon his own head: of which imprecation he soon after felt the smart, for within a short time he fell into disgrace, and was treated like an infamous fellow, and dyed miserably. But Aureng-Zebe, carried away by these instances and motives, commanded that he should be put to

death, and that Sepe-Chekouh, his grand-child, should be sent to Goualeor.

The charge of this tragical execution was given to a certain slave, call'd Nazer, that had been bred by Chah-Jehan, and was known to have been formerly ill treated by Dara. This executioner, accompanied with three or four parricides more, went to Dara, who was then himself dressing some lentils with Sepe-Chekouh, his grandchild. He no sooner saw Nazer, but cried out to Sepe-Chekouh, "My dear son, behold those that come to kill us!" laying hold at the same time of a small knife, which was all the arms that were left him. One of these butchers immediately fell upon Sepe-Chekouh; the others, upon the arms and legs of Dara, throwing him to the ground, and holding him under, 'till Nazer cut his throat. His head was forthwith carried to the fortress of Aureng-Zebe, who presently commanded it to be put in a dish, and that water should be fetch'd; which when brought, he wiped it off with an handkerchief, and after he had caused the face to be washed clean, and the blood done away, and was fully satisfied that it was the very head of Dara, he fell a weeping, and said these words; "*Ah Bed-Bakt!* Ah unfortunate man! Take it away, and bury it in the sepulchre of Houmayon."

At night, the daughter of Dara was brought into the seraglio, but afterwards sent to Chah-Jehan, and Begum-Saheb, who asked her of Aureng-Zebe. Concerning Dara's wife, she had ended her days before at Lahor: she had poyson'd her self, foreseeing the extremities she was falling into, together with her husband. Sepe-Chekouh was sent to Goualeor. And after a few

days, Gion-Kan was sent for, to come before Aureng-Zebe in the assembly : to him were given some presents, and so he was sent away ; but being near his lands, he was rewarded according to his desert, being killed in a wood. This barbarous man not knowing, or not considering, that if Kings do sometimes permit such actions for their interest, yet they abhor them, and sooner or later revenge them.

In the mean time, the Governour of Tatabakar, by the same orders that had been required of Dara, was obliged to surrender the fortress. It was indeed upon such a composition as he would have, but it was also with an intention not to keep word with him. For the poor eunuch, arriving at Lahor, was cut in pieces, together with those few men he had then with him, by Calil-ullah-Kan, who was the Governour thereof. But the reason of the non-observance of the capitulation was, that there was come intelligence, that he secretly prepar'd himself to go directly to Soliman-Chekouh, sparing no gold, which under-hand he conveyed into the hands our *Franguis*, and to all those that were come with him out of the fortress to follow him, under pretext of accompanying him as far as Dehli to Aureng-Zebe, who had often said, that he should be very glad to see so gallant a man, and who had so valiantly defended himself.

There remained therefore none of the family of Dara, but Soliman-Chekouh, who could not easily be drawn away from Serenaguer, if the Raja had been steady to his first declarations. But the secret practices of the Raja Jesseigne, the promises and threats of Aureng-Zebe, the death of Dara, and the other

Rajas his neighbours that had been gain'd, and were prepared by the orders, and, at the cost of Aureng Zebe, to make war against him, did at last shake the faith of this perfidious protector, and made him consent to their demands. Sepe-Chekouh, who was advertised of it, fled through the midst of those horrid countries and fearful desarts, towards the great Tibet. But the son of the Raja, soon pursuing and overtaking him, caused him to be assaulted with stones. The poor Prince was hurt, seized, and carried to Dehli, where he was imprison'd in Serengner, that little fortress, where at first they had put Morad-Bakche.

Aureng-Zebe, to observe what he had practised towards Dara, and that no body might doubt it was Soliman-Chekouh himself, commanded him to be brought before him in the presence of all the grandees of the Court. At the entry of the gate, the chains were taken from his feet, leaving those he had about his hands, which seemed gilt. When this proper young man, so handsome and gallant, was seen to enter, there was a good number of *Omrahs* that could not hold their tears; and, as I was informed, all the great ladies of the Court, that had leave to see him come in, fell a weeping. Aureng-Zebe, who appear'd himself to be touched at his misfortunes, began to speak very kindly to him, and to comfort him; telling him amongst other things, that he should fear nothing, that no hurt should be done to him: on the contrary, that he should be well treated, and therefore be of good courage; that he had caused his father to be put to death for no other reason, than that he was turn'd *Kafer*, and a man without religion. Whereupon this young Prince

returned him the *Salem*, and blessed him, abasing his hands to the earth, and lifting them, as well as he could, up to his head, after the custom of the country ; and told him with resolution enough, that if he were to drink the *Poust*, he intreated him that he might dye presently, being willing to submit to his fate. But Aureng-Zebe promised publickly, that he should drink none of it ; that he should rest satisfied as to that, and not entertain any sad thoughts about it. This being said, he once more repeated the *Salem* : and after they had asked him several questions, in the name of Aureng-Zebe, touching that elephant which was charged with Roupies of gold ; taken from him when he went to Serenaguer, he was sent to Goualeor to the rest. This *Poust* is nothing else but poppy expressed, and infused a night in water. And 'tis that potion, which those that are kept at Goualeor, are commonly made to drink ; I mean those Princes, whose heads they think not fit to cut off : this is the first thing that is brought them in the morning, and they have nothing given them to eat 'till they have drunk a great cup full of it ; they would rather let them starve. This emaciates them exceedingly, and maketh them dye insensible, they losing little by little their strength and understanding, and growing torpid and senseless. And by this very means 'tis said, that Sepe-Chekouh, and the grand-child of Morad-Bakche, and Soliman-Chekouh, were dispatch'd.

As to Morad-Bakche, he was made away by a more violent death. For Aureng-Zebe seeing, that though he was in prison, yet the generality had an inclination to him, and that many verses were spread in the praise

of his valour and courage, thought himself not safe enough by putting him to death in private, by giving him *Poust* like others ; apprehending, that his death would be still doubted of, and that might one time or other occasion some commotion, and therefore devised the following charge against him,

The children of a certain Sayed, very rich, whom he had caused to be put to death in Amadevad, to get his estate, when he there made his preparations for war, and borrowed or took by force great sums of money from all the rich merchants, appeared in full assembly, making their complaints, and demanding justice, and the head of Morad-Bakche, for the blood of their father. Not one of the *Omrals* durst contradict it, both because he was a Sayed, that is, one of Mahomet's kindred, to whom great veneration was paid ; and that every body sufficiently understood the design of Aureng-Zebe, taking this for a pretence to rid himself openly of Morad-Bakche, under a shew of justice. So that the head of him, that had killed the father of the plaintiffs, was granted them without any other form of process. Whereupon they went, with necessary orders issued out for that purpose, to cut it off in Goualeor.

There remained no other thorn in the foot of Aureng-Zebe but Sultan Sujah, who kept himself still in Bengale ; but he also was forced to yield at last to the power and fortune of Aureng-Zebe. There were sent so many troops of all sorts to Emir-Jemla, that at last he was encompassed on all sides, both on this and that side of the river Ganges ; so that he was necessitated to flye to Dake, which is the last town

of Bengale on the sea side ; and here comes the conclusion of this whole tragedy.

This Prince being destitute of ships to put to sea, and not knowing whether to flye, sent his eldest son, Sultan Banque, to the King of Racan or Moy, a Heathen or Idolatrous King, to know whether he would give him leave to make his country his place of refuge only for some time, and do him the favour, when the monsons or the season-winds should come, to furnish him with a vassel for Mecha, from thence to pass into some part of Turkey or Persia. That King sent answer, that he should be very welcome, and have all possible assistance. So Sultan Banque returned to Dake with some galeasses, manned with *Franguis* (I mean, with those fugitive Portugals, and other stragglng Christians, that had put themselves in service to that King, driving to other trade than to ravage all this lower Bengale ;) upon which Sultan Sujah embarked, with his whole family, viz. his wife, his three sons, and daughters. They were well enough received ; whatever was necessary for their subsistence, such as that countrey would afford, was provided for them, in the name of that King. Some months pass, the season of the favourable winds come in, but not a word of the vassels though he demanded it no otherwise than for his money ; for as yet he wanted not Rupies of gold, nor silver, nor gems : he had too great a plenty of them ; his riches were, in all appearance, the cause of his ruin, or at last contributed much to it. Those barbarous Kings have no true generosity, and are not much refrained by the faith they have given, regarding nothing but their present interests,

without so much as considering the mischiefs that may befall them for their perfidiousness and brutality. To get out of their hands, one must either be the stronger, or have nothing that may tempt their avarice. Sultan Sujah may long enough solicit for a vassel; all is in vain, he effects nothing : on the contrary, the King begins to shew much coldness, and to complain of his not coming to see him. I know not, whether Sultan Sujah thought it unworthy of himself, and too mean a thing to give him a visit ; or rather whether he feared, that being in the Kings house he might not there be seized on, to take away all his treasure, and then be delivered into the hands of Emir-Jemla, who for that purpose promised, in the name of Aureng-Zebe, great sums of mony and many other considerable advantages. Whatever the matter was, he would not go thither himself, but sent his son Sultan Banque, who being near the Kings house, began to shew liberality to the people, throwing out to them a good quantity of half Rupies, and whole Rupies, of gold and silver. And being come before the King, he presented him with store of embroideries, and of rare pieces of goldsmiths-work, set with precious stones of great value, excusing his father, Sultan Sujah, as being indisposed, and beseeching him in his name, that he would remember the vassel, and the promise made to him thereof. But all that did not advance his business ; on the contrary, five or six days after, this King sent to Sultan Sujah, to ask of him one of his daughters in marriage ; which he could never resolve to grant him, whereat this barbarous Prince was highly offended. What then could he do in this case ? The season

passeth away. What shall become of him ? What other resolution can he take, but to do a desperate action ? Behold a strange undertaking, which may give a great example of what despair can do !

Although this King of Racan be an Heathen, yet there is in his dominions store of Mahumetans mingled with the people, that are retired thither, or have been, for the most part, taken slaves, here and there, by those *Frangis* above mention'd. Sultan Sujah did underhand gain these Mahumetans ; and with two or three hundred men, whom he had yet remaining of those that follow'd him from Bengale, he resolve, one day to fall unexpectedly upon the house of this barbarian, to kill all, and to make himself proclaim'd King of Racan. This was a very bold enterprise, and such a one, as had more of a desperado in it, than of a prudent man. Yet notwithstanding, as I was inform'd, and by what I could learn from many Mahumetans, and Portugals, and Hollanders, that then were there present, the thing was feasible enough. But the day before the stroke was to be given, the design was discover'd ; which did altogether overthrow the affairs of Sultan Sujah, and was soon after the cause of his ruin. For not finding hereafter any way more to recover himself, he attempted to flye towards Pegu, which was a thing in a manner impossible, by reason of the vast mountains and forrests to be passed. Besides, he was immediately pursued so close, that he was overtaken the same day he fled. It may well be thought, that he defended himself with as much courage as was possible. He killed so many of those barbarians, that it will scarce be believed, but he was so overpower'd

by the multitude of pursuers, that he was obliged to quit the combat. Sultan Banque, who was not so far advanced as his father, defended him also like a lion ; but at length, being all bloody of the wounds, by stones poured upon him from all sides, he was seized on and carried away, with his two little brothers, his sisters, and mother.

As to the person of Sultan Sujah himself, all what could be learnt of it, is this : that he, with one woman, one eunuch, and two other persons, got up to the top of the mountain : that he received a wound in his head by a stone, which struck him down, but yet he rose again, the eunuch having wound his head about with his turbant, and that they escaped through the midst of the woods.

I have heard the relation three or four other manner of ways, even by those persons that were upon the place. Some did assure, that he had been found among the dead, but was not well known : and I have seen a letter of the Chief of the Dutch Factory, confirming this. So that 'tis difficult enough to know aright what is become him. And this it is, which hath administred ground to those so frequent alarms, given us afterwards at Dehli : for at one time it was rumored, that he was arrived at Maslipatan, to joyn with the Kings of Golkonda and Visapour ; another time it was related for certain, that he had passed in sight of Suratte with two Ships, bearing the red colours, which the King of Pegu, or the King of Siam had given him ; by and by, that he was in Persia, and had been seen in Chiras, and soon after in Kandahar, ready to enter into the kingdom of Caboul it self. Aureng-Zebe one day said

smiling, that Sultan Sujah was at last become an *Agy* or Pilgrim. And at this very day there are abundance of persons who maintain that he is in Persia, returned from Constantinople, whence he is said to have brought with him much money. But that which confirms more than enough, that there is no ground for any of these reports, is that letter of the Hollanders; and that an eunuch of his, with whom I travelled from Bengale to Maslipatan, as also the great master of his artillery; whom I saw in the service of the King of Golkonda, have assured me, that he is no more in being, though they made difficulty to say any more concerning him; as also, that our French merchants, that lately came out of Persia and from Hispahan, when I was yet at Dehli, had in those parts heard no news at all of him; besides that, I have heard that a while after his defeat, his sword and poynard had been found: so that 'tis credible, that if he was not killed upon the place, he soon dyed afterwards and was the prey of some robbers or tygers, or elephants, of which the forrests of that country are full. However it be, after this last action his whole family was put in prison, wives and children, where they were treated rudely enough; yet some time after they were set at more liberty, and they received a milder entertainment: and then the King called for the eldest daughter, whom he married.

Whilst this was doing, some servants of Sultan Banque, joyned with divers of those Mahumetans which I have mentioned, went to plot another conspiracy like the first. But the day appointed for it being come, one of the conspirators, being half drunk, began too

soon to break out. Concerning this also I have heard forty different relations, so that 'tis very hard to know the truth of it. That which is undoubted is this, that the King was at length so exasperated against this unfortunate family of Sujah, that he commanded it should be quite rooted out. Neither did there remain any one of it, that was not put to death, save that daughter which the King had made his wife. Sultan Banque, and his brothers, had their heads cut off with blunt axes ; and the women were mured up, where they dyed of hunger and misery.

And thus endeth this war, which the last of reigning had kindled among those four brothers, after it had lasted five or six years, from 655, or thereabout, to 660 or 661 ; which left Aureng-Zebe in the peaceable possession of this puissant empire.

THE END OF THE FIRST TOME.

PARTICULAR EVENTS

OR

THE MOST CONSIDERABLE PASSAGES AFTER THE WAR FOR FIVE YEARS, OR THEREABOUT, IN THE EMPIRE OF THE GREAT MOGOL.

THE war being ended, the Tartars of Usbec entertained thoughts of sending ambassadors to Aureng-Zebe. They had seen him fight in their countrey, when he was yet a young Prince, Chah-Jehan having sent him to command the succors, which the Kan of Samarkand had desired of him against the Kan of Balk. They had experienced his conduct and valor on many occasion, and they consider'd with themselves, that he could not but remember the affront they did him, when he was just taking Balk, the capital town of the enemy : for the two Kans agreed together, and obliged him to retreat, alledging, that they apprehended he might render himself master of their whole State, just as Ekbar had formerly done of the kingdom of Kachimere. Besides, they had certain intelligence of all he had done in Indostan, of his battels, fortune, and advantages ; whence they might sufficiently estimate, that though Chah-Jehan was yet living, yet Aureng-Zebe was master, and the only person that was to be owned King of the Indies. Whether then they feared his just resentments, or whether it was, that

their inbred avarice and sordidness made them hope for some considerable present, the two Kans sent to him their ambassadors to offer him their service, and to congratulate him upon the happy beginning of his reign. Aureng-Zebe saw very well, that the war being at an end, this offer was out of season, and that it was nothing but fear or hope, as we said, that had brought them. Yet for all this, he received them honourably ; and, since I was present at their audience, I can relate the particulars of it with certainty.

They made their reverence at a considerable distance from him, after the Indian custom, putting thrice their hands upon their heads, and as often letting them down to the ground. Then they approached so near, that Aureng-Zebe himself might very well have taken their letters immediately from their hands ; but yet it was an *Omrah* that took and open'd them, and gave them to him. He forthwith read them with a very grave countenance ; and afterwards commanded, there should be given to each of them an embroider'd vest, a turbant, and a girdle of silk in embroidery, which is that which they call *Ser-apah*, that is, an habit from head to foot. After this, their presents were call'd for which consisted in some boxes of choice *Lapts Lazulus* divers camels with long hair, several gallant horses, some camel-loads of fresh fruit, as apples, pears, raisins and melons, (for 'tis chiefly Usbec that furnishes these sort of fruit, eaten at Dehli all the winter-long ;) and in many loads of dry fruit, as prunes of bokara, apereocks, raisins without any stones that appeared, and two other sorts of raisins, black and white, very large and very good.

Aureng-Zebe was not wanting to declare, how much he was satisfied with the generosity of the Kans, and much commended the beauty and rarity of the fruit, horses, and camels; and after he had a little entertain'd them of the state of the Academy of Samarkand, and of the fertility of their countrey, abounding in so many rare and excellent things, he desired them to go and repose themselves, intimating withall, that he should be very glad to see them often.

They came away from their audience full of contentment and joy, not being much troubled, that they had been obliged to make their reverence after the Indian custom, though it have something of slavish in it; nor much resenting it, that the King had not taken their letters from their own hands. I believe if they had been required to kiss the ground, and even to do something of a lower nature, they would have complied with it. 'Tis true, it would have been in vain, if they had desired to make no other salute, but that of their own countrey, and to deliver to the King their letters with their own hands; for that belongs only to the Ambassadors of Persia, nor have these this favour granted them, but with much difficulty.

They stay'd above four months at Dehli, what diligence soever they could use to be dispatch'd, which did incommode them very much; for they fell almost all sick, and even some of them dyed, because they were not accustomed to such heats as are in Indostan, or rather because they were sordid, and kept a very ill diet. I know not whether there be a more avaricious and uncleanly nation than they are. They laid up the money which the King had appointed them

for their maintenance, and lived a very miserable life, altogether unworthy of Ambassadors ; yet they were dismissed with great honour : the King, in the presence of all the *Omrahs*, presented each of them with two rich *Ser-apahs*, and gave order that eight thousand Rupies should be carried to their lodgings, which amounted to near two thousand 'crowns each. He also gave them for presents to the Kans their masters, very handsom *Ser-apahs*, store of the richest and best wrought embroideries, a good quantity of fine cloth and silk-stuffs wrought with gold and silver, and some tapestries, and two poynards set about with precious stones.

During their stay, I went thrice to see them, being presented to them as a physician, by one of my friends that was son of an Usbec, that had made his fortune in that Court. I had a design to have learned something in particular of their countrey, but I found them so ignorant, that they knew not so much as the confines of their State, much less could they inform me of any thing concerning the Tartars that have conquer'd China of late years : in short, they told me nothing that I knew not before. I had once the curiosity to dine with them, which liberty I obtained easily enough. They are not men of much ceremony ; it was a very extraordinary meal for such a one as I, it being meer horse-flesh ; yet for all this I got my dinner with them ; there was a certain Regou, which I thought passable : and was obliged to express a liking of so exquisite a dish, which they so much lust after. During dinner, there was a strange silence, they were very busie in carrying in with their whole

hands, for they knew not what a spoon is ; but after that this horse-flesh had wrought in their stomachs, they began to talk, and then they would persuade me, they were the most dextrous at bows and arrows, and the strongest men in the world. They call'd for bows, which are much bigger than those of Indostan, and would lay a wager, to pierce an ox or my horse through and through. Then they proceeded to commend the strength and valor of their women, which they described to me quite otherwise than the Amazons, telling me very wonderful stories of them, especially one, which would be admirable indeed, if I could relate it with a Tartarian eloquence, as they did : they told me, that at the time when Aureng-Zebe made war in their countrey, a party of twenty five or thirty Indian horsemen came to fall upon a small village ; whilst they plundred, and tyed all those whom they met with to make them slaves, an old woman said to them, "Children, be not so mischievous, my daughter is not far off, she will be here very shortly, retreat if you be wise, you are undone if she light upon you." They laughed at the old woman, and her advice, and continued to load, to tye, and to carry away her self ; but they were not gone half a mile, but this old woman, looking often backward, made a great out-cry of joy, perceiving her daughter coming after her on horse-back ; and presently this generous She Tartar, mounted on a furious horse, her bow and arrows hanging at her side, called to them at a distance, that she was yet willing to give them their lives, if they would carry back to the village all they had taken, and then withdraw without any noise. The

advice of this young woman affected them as little as that of her old mother ; but they were soon astonish'd, when they found her let flie at them in a moment three or four great arrows, which struck as many of their men to the ground, which forced them to fall to theis quivers also. But she kept her self at that distance from them, that none of them could reach her. She laughed at all their effort, and at all their arrows, knowing how to attack them at the length of her bow, and to take her measure from the strength of her arm, which was of another temper than theirs : so that after she had killed half of them with her arrows, and put them into disorder, she came and fell upon the rest, with the zable in her hand, and cut them all in pieces.

The Ambassadors of Tartary were not yet gone away from Dehli, when Aureng-Zebe fell exceeding sick ; a violent and continued fever made him sometimes lose his understanding : his tongue was seized with such a palsie, that he lost almost his speech, and the physicians despaired of his recovery ; nothing was heard for the time, than that he was gone, and that his sister Rauchenara-Begum concealed his death out of design. It was already bruited, that the Raja Jessomseigne, Governor of Guzaratte, was on the way to deliver Chah-Jehan ; that Mohabet-Kan (who had at length obeyed the orders of Aureng-Zebe) quitting the Government of Caboul, and being already on this side Lahor to come back, made haste also with three or four thousand horse for the same end ; and that the eunuch Etbar-Kan, who kept Chah-Jehan in the fortress of Agra, would have the honour of his delivery.

On one side we see Sultan Mazum bestir himself exceedingly with bribes, endeavouring by promises to assure himself of the *Omrah*, so far, as that one night he went disguised to the Raja Jesseigne, entreating him with expressions of deep respect, that he would engage himself for his interest.

We knew from other hands, that Rauchenara-Begum, together with Teday-Kan, the great master of artillery, and many *Omrahs*, declared for the young Prince Sultan Ekbar, that third son of Aureng-Zebe, though he was but seven or eight years old; both parties in the mean time pretending, they had no other design than to deliver Chah-Jehan: so that the people believed, that now he was going to be set at liberty, though none of the *grande*es had any such thing in their thoughts, spreading this rumor, only to gain credit and concourse, and because they feared, lest by the means of Etbar-Kan, or some other secret intrigue, he should one day appear in the field. And indeed of all the parties, there was not one that had reason to wish for his liberty and restoration to the throne, except Jessomseigne, Mohabet-Kan, and some others, that as yet had done no great matter to his disadvantage. The rest had been all against him, at last they had vilely abandon'd him. They knew very well he would be like an unchain'd lyon, if he came abroad. Who then could trust him? And what could Etbar-Kan hope for, who had kept him up so close? I know not, if by some adventure or other, he should have come out of prison, whether he would not have stood single, and been alone of his party.

But though Aureng-Zebe was very sick, yet for all

this he gave order for all things, and particularly for the sure custody of Chah-Jehan his father ; and though he had advised Sultan Mazum to go and open the gates to Chah-Jehan, in case he should die, yet he omitted not to have Etbar-Kan incessantly writ to. And the fifth day, in the height of his sickness, he caused himself to be carried into the assembly of the *Omrahs* to shew himself, and to disabuse those who might believe him to be dead, and to obviate popular tumults, or such accidents as might have caused Chah-Jehan to be set at liberty. The seventh, ninth, and tenth day, he made himself to be carried again into the said assembly for the same reason ; and, what is almost incredible, the thirteenth, after he had recollected himself from a fit of swooning, which occasioned a rumor through the whole town of his being dead, he called for two three of the greatest *Omrahs*, and the Raja Jesseigne, to let them see that he was alive, made himself to be raised in his bed, called for ink and paper to write to Etbar-Kan, and sent for the Great Seal, which he had trusted with Rauchenara-Begum, and commonly enclosed in a small bag, sealed with a Seal he always wore about his arm, fearing lest she had already made use of it for her designs. I was nigh my *Agah*, when all this news was told him, and I understood, that lifting up his hands to heaven, he said, "What a soul is this ? A matchless fortitude and courage of spirit ! God preserve thee Aureng-Zebe, for greater things, certainly he will not that thou shouldst yet die." And indeed after this fit, he recover'd by little and little.

He had no sooner recover'd his health, but he

sought to get out of the hands of Chah-Jehan, and Begum-Saheb, the daughter of Dara, to secure the marriage of Sultan Ekbar, his third son, with this Princess, on purpose, thereby to gain him authority, and to give him the greater right to the Empire: for he it is, who is thought to be by him designed for it. He is yet very young, but he hath many near and powerful relations at the Court, and is born of the daughter of Chah-Navaze-Kan, and consequently of the blood of the ancient sovereigns of Machate; whereas Sultan Mahmoud and Sultan Mazum are only sons of *Ragipontnis*, or daughters of Raja's. These Kings, though Mahumetans, do, for all that, marry of the daughters of the Heathen, either for State-interest, or for extraordinary beauty. But Aureng-Zebe, was disappointed in this design it will hardly be believed, with what height and fierceness of spirit Chah-Jehan and Begum rejected the proposition, and the young Princess herself, who, in the fear of being carried away, was for some days desperate, and protested she would rather kill herself an hundred times over, if it were possible, than to marry the son of him that had murdered her father.

He had no better satisfaction from Chah-Jehan about certain jewels which he asked of him, in order to finish a piece of work which he caused to be added to a famous Throne, which is so highly esteemed. For he fiercely answer'd, that "Aureng-Zebe should take no other care, but to rule better than he did; that he should let his Throne alone; that he was weary to hear of these jewels; and that the hammers were

ready to beat them to dust, the first time he should be importun'd again about them."

The Hollanders would not be the last in doing reverence to Aureng-Zebe: they had thoughts of sending an Ambassador to him. They pitched upon Monsieur Adrican, the commander of their Factory at Suratte; and being a right honest man, and of good sense and judgment, not neglecting to take the counsel of his friends, he well acquitted himself of his employment. Aureng-Zebe, though he carries it very high, and affects to appear a zealous Mahumetan, and consequently to despise the *Franguis*, or Christians, yet thought fit to receive them with much respect and civility. He even was desirous, that this Ambassador should complement him in the mode of the *Franguis*, after he had been made to do it in the Indian way. 'Tis true, he received his letters by the hand of an *Omrah*; but that was not to be taken for any contempt, he having shew'd no more honour to the Ambassadors of Usbee. After this, he intimated to him, that he might produce his present; and at the same time he caused him, and some of his train, to be dressed with a *Ser-apah* embroider'd. The present consisted of store of very fine scarlet, some large looking-glasses, and divers excellent pieces of Chinese and Japanese work, among which there was a *Paleky*, and a *Tackravan*, or Field Throne of admirable workmanship.

This Ambassador was not so soon dispatch'd as he wish'd, it being the custom of the Kings of Mogol to detain Ambassadors as long as they well can, from a belief they have, that 'tis the interest of their greatness, to oblige strangers to give long attendance

at their Court ; yet he was not kept so long as the Ambassadors of Usbec. Mean time he had the misfortune, that his Secretary died there, and the rest of his retinue began to grow sick. When the King dismissed him, he gave him such another *Ser-apah* embroidered, as the first was for himself ; and another, a very rich one, for the General of Batavia, together with a poynard, set about with jewels, all accompanied with a very obliging letter.

The chief aim of Hollanders in this embassy was, to make themselves immediately known to the King, thereby to gain credit, and to intimidate the Governors of the sea-ports, and other places, where they have their factories ; that so they may not attempt, when they please, to insult over them, or to trouble them in their trade ; thereby letting them know, that they had to do with potent nation, and that hath a door open to address themselves, and to complain immediately to the King. Their end also was, to make it appear, with interest the King had in their commerce ; and therefore they shew'd long rolls of commodities, brought by them through the whole kingdom, and lists of considerable sums of gold and silver, every year brought thither by them ; but saying not a word of those which draw thence, from the copper, lead, cinamon, cloves, muscadin, pepper, wood of aloes, elephants, and other commodities which they vend there.

About this time, one of the most considerable *Om-rah's* of Aureng-Zebe addressed himself to him, and represented, that this multitude and variety of perplexing affairs, and this perpetual attention of mind in him, might soon cause a great alteration in his temper, and

a dangerous inconvenience in his health. But Aureng-Zebe seeming to take almost no notice of what that *Omrah* said, turn'd himself another way, and approaching to another of the Prime *Omrahs* of the Court, a person of great knowledge and judgment, spoke to him in this purpose (as I was informed by the son of this Lord, who was my friend.)

"You other sages, are you not all of the mind, that there are times and conjunctions so urgent, that a King ought to hazard his life for his subjects, and sacrifice himself for their defence with arms in his hands? And yet this effeminate man would dissuade me from taking pains, and dehort me from watching and sollicitude for the publick; and carry me by pretences of health, to the thoughts of an easie life, by abandoning the government of my people, and the management of affairs, to some Visir or other. Doth he not know, that Providence having given me a Royal extraction, and raised me to the Crown of Indostan, hath not made me for my self alone, but for the good and safety of the publick, and for the procurement of tranquility and happiness to my subjects, as far as that may be obtained by justice and power? He seeth not the consequence of his counsels, and what mischiefs do attend Visirships. Doth he think it to be without reason, what our grand Sady hath so generously pronounced, 'O Kings, cease, cease to be Kings, or govern your kingdoms yourselves?' Go tell thy country-man, that I shall well like of the care he is constantly to take of the faithful discharge of his place; but advise him also, not any more to run out himself so far as he hath done. We have *natural* inclination

enough to a long, easie, and careless life, and there need no counsellors to shake off business and trouble. Our wives, that lie in our bosom, do too often, besides our own genius.incline us that way."

At the same time there happen'd an accident, that made a great noise at Dehli, especially in the seraglio, and disabused a great many, that could as hardly believe as my self, that eunuchs, though they had their genitals quite cut away, could become amorous as other men. Didar-Kan, one of the chief eunuchs of the seraglio, who had built an house, where he came often to divert himself, fell in love with a very beautiful woman, the sister of a neighbor of his, that was an Heathen scrivener.

These amours lasted a good while, before any body blamed them, since it was but an eunuch that made them, which sort of men have the priviledge to go where they please ; but the familiarity grew so great, and so extraordinary betwixt the two lovers, that the neighbors began to suspect something, and to rally the scrivener, which did so touch him, that he threatned both his sisters and the eunuch to kill them, if they should continue their commerce. And soon after, finding them in the night lying together, he stabbed the eunuch out-right, and left his sister for dead. The whole seraglio, women and eunuchs, made a league together against him to make him away ; but Aureng-Zebe dissipated all these machinations, and was content to have him turn Mahumetan. Mean time 'tis thought, he cannot long avoid the malice and power of the eunuch ; for 'tis not, as is the common saying, with men as with brutes ; these latter become gentler

and more tractable when they are castrated ; but men more vicious, and commonly very insolent, though some-times it turneth to an admirable fidelity and gallantry.

It was also about the same time, that Aureng-Zebe was somewhat discontented with Rauchenara-Begum, because she was suspected to have given access to two young gallants into the seraglio, who were discover'd, and brought before Aureng-Zebe. Yet this being but a suspicion, he expressed to her no great resentment of it ; nor did he make use of so great rigor and cruelty against those poor men, as Chah-Jehan had done against the person above spoken of. The matter was related to me by an old Portuguese woman (that had a long while been slave to the seraglio, and went out and in at pleasure) as followeth : she told me that Rauchenara-Begum, after she had drawn from a young man, hidden by her, all his ability, deliver'd him to some women, to convey him away in the night through some gardens, and so to save him : but whether they were discover'd or whether they feared they should be so, or what else might be the cause, they fled, and left him there wandering in the midst of those gardens, not knowing which way to get out : and being at last met with, and brought before Aureng-Zebe, who examined him strictly, but could draw nothing else from him, than that he was come in over the walls, he was commanded to get out the same way by which he entered : but it seems, the eunuchs did more than Aureng-Zebe had given order for, for they cast him down from the top of the walls to the bottom. As for the other young gallant, this same woman assured me, that he was

found wandering in the garden like the first ; and having confessed that he was come in by the gate, Aureng-Zebe commanded likewise, that he also should pass away again by the same gate ; yet reserving to himself a severe chastisement for the eunuchs, since not only the honour of the Royal house, but also the safety of the King's person is herein concerned.

Some months after these there arrived at Dehli several Ambassadors, almost at the same time. The first was Xerif of Meccha, whose present did consist in some Arabian horses : the second and third Ambassadors were, he of the King of Hyeman, or Happy Arabia, and he of the Prince of Bassora, who likewise presented Arabian horses. The two remaining Ambassadors were sent from the King of Ethiopia. To the three first no great regard was given ; they appear'd in so miserable and confused an equipage, that it was perceived they came only to get some money by the means of their present, and of the many horses, and other merchandize, which under the pretence of Ambassadors, entered without paying any duty into the kingdom, there to be sold, and to buy for the money a quantity of Indian stuffs, and so to return, without paying likewise any impost at all.

But as to the Ethiopian embassy, that deserves to be otherwise taken notice of ; the King of the Ethiopia having received the news of the revolution of the Indies, had a design to spread his name in those parts, and there to make known his grandeur and magnificence, by a splendid embassy : or, as malice will have it, or rather as the very truth is, to reap some advantage by a present as well as the rest. Behold therefore

this great embassy! He chose for his Ambassadors two persons, that one would think were the most considerable in his Court, and the most capable to make such a design proper. And who were they? The one was a Mahumetan merchant, whom I had seen some years ago at Moka, when I passed there coming out of Egypt over the Red-Sea, where he was to sell some slaves for that Prince, and to buy of the money, raised thence, some Indian commodities. And this is the fine trade of that great Christian King of Africa. The other was a Christian merchant of Armenia, born and married in Aleppo, known in Æthiopia by the name of Murat. I had seen him also at Moka, where he had accommodated me with the half of his chamber, and assisted me with very good advice, whereof I have spoken in the beginning of this history, as a thing taking me off from passing into Ethiopia, according to my first design. He also came every year to that place, in that King's name, for the same end that the Mahumetan did, and brought the present which the King made every year, to the gentlemen of the English and Dutch Company of the East-Indies, and carried away theirs. Now the King of Ethiopia, sutably to his design, and the desire he had of making his Ambassadors appear with great splendor, put himself to great expences for this embassie: he gave them thirty two slaves, of both sexes, to sell them at Moka, and thence to make a sum of money to bear their charges. A wonderful largess! Slaves are commonly sold there for twenty five or thirty crowns apiece, one with another. A considerable sum. Besides he gave them for a present to the Great Mogol five and twenty choice slaves, among

which there were nine or ten very young, proper to make eunuchs of. A very worthy present for a King, and he a Christian, to a Mahumetan Prince! It seems the Christianity of the Ethiopians is very different from ours. He added to that present, twelve horses, esteem'd as much as those of Arabia, and a kind of little mule, of which I saw the skin, which was a very great rarity, there being no tyger so handsomly speckled, nor silken stuff of India so finely, so variously, and so orderly streaked, as that was. Moreover, there were for a part of the present, two elephants teeth, so prodigious, that they assured it was all that a very able bodied man could do, to lift up one of them from the ground. Lastly, an horn of an ox full of civett, and so big, that the aperture of it being measur'd by me, when it come to Dehli, it had a diameter of half a foot, and somewhat better. All things being thus prepared, the Ambassadors depart from Gondez, the capital of Ethiopia, situated in the province of Dambea, and came through a very troublesom countrey to Beiloul, which is a dispeopled sea-port over against Moka, nigh to Babel-mandel, not daring to come (for reasons elsewhere to be alledged) the ordinary way of the caravans, which is made with ease in forty days to Arkiko, and thence to pass to the isle of of Masoua. During their stay at Beiloul, and expecting a bark of Moka, to waft over the Red-Sea, there died some of their slaves, because the vessel tarried, and they found not in that place those refreshments that were necessary for them. When they came to Moka, they soon sold their marchandize, to raise a stock of money according to order. But they had this

ill luck, that that year the slaves were very cheap, because the market was glutted by many other merchants, yet they raised a sum to pursue their voyage: they embark'd upon an Indian vessel to pass Suratte; their passage was pretty good; they were not above five and twenty days at Sea; but whether it was that they had made no good provision for want of stock, or what else the cause might be, many of their slaves and horses, as also the mule, whereof they saved the skin, died. They were no sooner arrived at Suratte, but a certain rebel of Visapour, called Seva-Gi, came and ransacked and burned the town, and in it their house, so that they could save nothing but their letters, some slaves that were sick, or which Seva-Gi could not light on, their Ethiopian habits which he cared not for, and the mule's skin, and the ox's horn, which was already emptied of the civett. They had very much exaggerate their misfortune; but those malicious Indians that had seen them arrive in such a wretched condition, without provisions, without habits, without money, or bills of exchange, said, that they were very happy, and should reckon the plunder of Suratte for a piece of their best fortune, forasmuch as Seva-Gi had saved them the labour of bringing their miserable present to Dehli, and had furnisht them with a very specious pretence for their beggarly condition, and for the sale they had made of their civett, and some of their slaves, and for demanding of the Governor of Suratte provisions for their subsistence, as also some money and chariots to continue their voyage to Dehli. Monsieur Adrican, chief of the Dutch Factory, my friend, had given to the Armenian Murat

a letter of recommendation to me, which he deliver'd himself at Dehli, not remembring that I had been his host at Moka. It was a very pleasant meeting when we came to know one another, after the space of five or six years. I embraced him affectionately, and promised him that I would serve him in whatever I could ; but that, though I had acquaintance at the Court, it was impossible for me to do any considerable good office there : for since they had not brought with them any valuable present, but only the mule's skin, and the empty ox's horn, and that they were seen going upon the streets without any *Paleky* or horses, save that of our Father Missionary, and mine (which they had almost killed) cloathed like beggars, and followed with seven or eight slaves, bare-headed and bare-foot, having nothing but an ugly sharse tyed between their legs, with a ragged cloth over their left shoulder, passing under their left arm like a summer-cloak ; since, I said, they were in such a posture, whatever I could say for them was insignificant ; they were taken for beggars, and no body took other notice of them. Yet notwithstanding I said so much of the grandeur of their King to my *Agah* Danechmend-Kan, who had cause to hearken to me, as managing all Foreign Affairs there, that Aureng-Zebe gave them audience, received their letters, presented them each with an embroider'd vest, a silken embroider'd girdle, and a turbant of the same, gave order for their entertainment, and dispatched them in a little time, and that with more honour than there was ground to expect : for in dismissing them, he presented them each with another such vest, and with 6000 Rupies for them all, which amounteth to about 3000

crowns, of which the Mahumetan had four thousand, and Murat, because a Christian, but two thousand. He also gave them for a present to their master a very rich *Ser-apah* of vest, two great silver and gilt trumpets, two silver tymbals, a poynard cover'd with jewels, and the value of about twenty thousand Francs in golden and silver Rupies, to let their King see money coined, as a rarity he had not in his countrey. But Aureng-Zebe knew very well, that these Rupies would not go out of the kingdom, and that they were like to buy commodities for them: and it fell out so; for they laid them out, partly in fine cotton cloth, to make shirts of for their King, Queen, and their only lawful son that is to be the successor; partly in silken stuffs streaked with gold or silver, to make vests and summer-drawers of; partly in English scarlet, to make two Arabian vests of for their King also; and lastly, in spices, and in store of coarser cloth, for divers ladies of his seraglio, and for the children he had by them, all without paying any duty.

For all my friendship with Murat, there were three things that made me almost repent to have served them. The first, because Murat having promised me to leave with me for 50 Rupies, a little son of his, that was very pretty, of a delicate black, and without such a swelled nose, or such thick lips as commonly the Ethiopians have, broke his word with me, and let me know, that he should take no less for him than 300 Rupies. For all this, I had thoughts of buying him, for rarity's sake and that I might say, a father had sold me his son. The second, because I found that Murat, as well as the Mahumetan, had obliged themselves to

Aureng-Zebe, that they would employ their interest with their King, that he might permit in Ethiopia to rebuild an old Mosquee ruined in the time of Portugals, and which had been built for a tomb of a great *Dervick*, which went from Mecha into Ethiopia, for the propagation of Mahumetanism, and there made great progress. 'They receiv'd' of Aureng-Zebe two thousand Rupies for this engagement. The Mosquee had been pulled down by the Portugals, when they came with their succors into Ethiopia, which the then King, who turn'd Catholick, had asked of them against a Mahumetan Prince, invading his kingdom. The third, because they desired Aureng-Zebe, in the name of their King, to give them an *Alcoran*, and eight other books, which I well remember, were of the most reputed in the Mahumetan religion: which proceeding seemed to me very unworthy of a Christian Ambassador, and Christian King, and confirmed to me what I had been told at Moka, that the Christianity of Ethiopia must needs be some odd thing; that it savors much of Mahumetanism and that Mahumetans increase exceedingly in that empire, especially since the Portugals, that came in there for the reason lately expressed, were either killed, upon the death of the King, by the cabal of the Queen-mother, or expell'd together, with the Patriarch Jesuite, whom they had brought along from Goa.

During the time that the Ambassadors were at Dehli, my *Agah*, who is more than ordinary curious, made them often come to him, when I was present, to inform himself of the state and government of their countrey, and. principally to learn something of the source of the Nile, which they call *Ababile*, of which they

discoursed to us as a thing so well known, that no body doubted of it. Murat himself, and a Mogol, who was returned out of Ethiopia with him, had been there, and told us very near the same particulars with those I had received of it at Moka, viz. that the Nile had its origine in the countrey of Agaus; that it issued out of the earth by two springs bubbling up, near to one another, which did from a little lake of about thirty or forty paces long; that coming out of this lake, it did make a considerable river: and that from space to space, it receiv'd small rivers increasing it. They added, that it went on circling, and making as 'twere a great isle; and that afterwards it tumbled down from steep rocks into a great lake, in which there were divers fruitful isles, store of crocodiles, and (which would be remarkable enough, if true) abundance of sea-calves, that have no other vent for their excrements than that, by which they take in their food; this lake being in the countrey of Dambea, three small days journey from Gondar, and four or five days journey from the source of the Nile. And lastly, that this river did break out of this lake, being augmented with many river-waters, and with several torrents falling into it, especially in the rainy season, (which do regularly begin there, as in the Indies about July, which is very considerable and convincing for the inundation of the Nile) and so runs away through Sonnar, the capital city of the King of Fungi, tributary to the King of Ethiopia, and from thence passeth to the plains of Mesre, which is Egypt.

The Ambassadors were not wanting to say more than was liked on the subject of their King's greatness,

and of the strength of his army, but the Mogolian did not over-much agree with them in it ; and in their absence represented to us this army, which he had seen twice in the field, with the Ethiopian King on the head of it, as the most wretched thing in the world.

They also related to us divers particulars of that countrey, which I have put in my journal, one day perhaps to be digested and copied : in the mean time I shall interest here three or four things which Murat told me, because I esteem them very extravagant for a Christian kingdom. He said then, that there were few men in Ethiopia, who besides their lawful wife, had not many others, and himself owned that he had two, without reckoning her which he had left at Aleppo: that the Ethiopian women did not so hide themselves, as they do in the Indies among the Mahumetans, nor even as among the Gentiles: that those of the meaner sort of people, maids, or married women, slaves or free, were often together pell-mell, night and day, in the same chamber, without those jealousies so common in other countries: that the women of Lords did not stick much to go into the house of a simple cavalier, whom they knew to be a man of execution: that if I had gone into Ethiopia, they would soon have obliged me to marry, as they had done, a few years since, to a certain European, who named himself a Greek physician: that an ancient man, of about fourscore years of age, did one day present to the King fourscore sons, all of age, and able to bear arms ; and that the King asked him, whether he had no more but them ? To whom having answer'd, "no, but only some daughters," the King sent him

away with this reproach"; "be gone, thou calf, and be ashamed for having no more children at that age, as if women were wanting in my dominions!" That the King himself had at least fourscore sons and daughters running about pell-mell in the seraglio, for whom he had caused to be made a number of round varnished sticks, made like a little maze; those children being fond of having that in their hand like a scepter, distinguishing them from those that were children of slaves, or from others living in that place.

Aureng-Zebe sent also twice for these Ambassadors, for the same reason that my *Agah* did, and especially to enquire after the state of Mahumetanism in that countrey. He had also the curiosity of viewing the skin of the mule, which remained, I know not how, in the fortress amongst the officers; which was to me great mortification, because they had designed it for me for the good services I had done them. I made account to have one day presented it to some very curious person in Europe. I urged often, that together with the mules skin, they should carry the great horn to Aureng-Zebe, to shew it him; but they fear'd, lest he should make a question, which would have perplexed them; viz. how it come to pass, that they had saved the horn from the plunder of Suratte, and lost the civet?

Whilst these Ambassadors of Ethiopia were at Dehli, it come to pass that Aureng-Zebe called together his Privy Council, and the most learn'd persons of his Court, to chuse a new master for his third son, Sultan Ekbar, whom he design'd for his successor. In this Council he shew'd the passion he hath to have this-

young Prince well educated, and to make him a great man. Aureng-Zebe is not ignorant of what importance it is, and how much 'tis to be wished, that as much as Kings surmount others in greatness, they may also exceed them in virtue and knowledge. He also well knows, that one of the principal sources of the misery, of the mis-government, of the unpeopling, and the decay of the empires of Asia proceeds from thence, that the children of the Kings thereof are brought up only by women and eunuchs, which often are no other than wretched slaves of Russia, Circassia, Mingrelia, Gurgistan and Ethiopia, mean and servile, ignorant and insolent souls. These Princes become Kings, when they are of age, without being instructed, and without knowing what 'tis to be a King; amazed when they begin to come abroad out of the seraglio, as persons coming out of another world, or let out of some subterraneous ~~r~~ with where they had lived all their life time; were put at every thing they meet, like so many innocents; believing all, and fearing all like children, or nothing at all, as if they were stupid: and all this, according to their nature, and sutable to the first images imprinted upon them; commonly high and proud, and seemingly grave, but of that kind of pride and gravity, which is so flat and distasteful, and so unbecoming them, that one may plainly see, 'tis nothing but brutality or barbarousness and the effect of some ill-studied, and ill-digested documents; or else they fall into some childish civilities, yet more unsavoury; or into such cruelties, as are blind and brutal; or into that mean and gross

vice of drunkenness, or into an excessive and altogether unreasonable luxury, either ruining their bodies and understanding with their concubines, or altogether abandoning themselves to the pleasures of hunting, like some carniverous animals, preferring a pack of dogs before the life of so many poor people, whom they force to follow them in the pursuit of their game, and suffer to perish of hunger, heat cold, and misery. In a word, they always run into some extreme or other, being altogether irrational and extravagant, according as they are carried by their natural temper, or by the first impressions that are given by them ; thus remaining, almost all, in a strange ignorance of what concerns the state of the kingdom ; the reins of the Government being abandoned to some Visir, who entertains them in their ignorance and in their passions, which are the two strongest supports he can have to rule always according to his own mind, with n^{em.} assurance, and the least contradiction ; and given ov^{to some} offer to those slaves their mothers, and to their eunuc^{s,} who often know nothing but to continue plots of cruelty, whereby they strangle and banish one another, and sometimes the Visirs, and even the Grand Signors themselves ; so that no man whatsoever, that hath any estate, can be in safety of his life.

But to return ; after all these Ambassadors, which we have spoken of, there came at last news, that the Ambassador of Persia was upon the frontiers. The Persian *Omrahs*, that are at the service of the Mogol, spread a rumor that he came for affairs of great importance ; though intelligent persons much doubted of a

Commission of that nature, considering that the time of great conjunctures was passed, and that those *Omrahs*, and the other Persians did what they did, rather to make a show, than for any thing else. Mean time, on the day of the entry, this Ambassador was received with all possible respect : the *Bazars*, through which he passed, were all new-painted, and the cavalry attending on the way for above the length of a whole league. Many *Omrahs*, accompanied him with musick, tymbals and trumpets, and when he entred into the Fortress, or the Palace of the King, the guns went off. Aureng-Zebe received him with much civility, and was content he should make his address to him after the Persian mode, receiving also, without any scruple, immediately from his hands the letters of his King ; which, out of respect, he lifted up even to his head, and afterwards read them with a grave and serious countenance : which done, he caused an embroider'd vest to be brought, together with a rich turbant and girdle, commanding it to be put on him in his presence. A little after, it was intimated to him, that he might order his present to be brought in, which consisted of five and twenty as handsome horses as ever I saw, led, and cover'd with embroider'd trapings ; and of twenty very stately and lusty camels, as big as elephants : moreover, of a good number of boxes, said to be full of most excellent rose-water ; and of a certain distilled water, very precious, and esteemed highly cordial ; besides, there were displayed five or six very rich and very large tapisseries, and some embroider'd pieces exceeding noble, wrought in small flowers, so fine and delicate, that I know not whether in all Europe any

such can be met with. To all this were added four Damaskin'd swords, with as many poynards, all cover'd with jewels; as also five or six harnesses of horses, which were much esteem'd being alsò very fine and rich, the stuff being raised with rich embroidery set with small pearls, and very fair turcoises of the old rock.

It was observ'd, that Aureng-Zebe beheld this present very attentively; that he admired the beauty and rarity of every piece, and that several times he extolled the generosity of the King of Persia; assigning to the Ambassador a place among his chief *Omrahs*. And after he had entertained him a while with a discourse about the inconveniencies and hardships of his voyage, he dismiss him, and made instance, that he should come every day to see him.

During the four or five months that the Ambassador staid at Dehli, he was always splendidly treated at Aureng-Zebe's charge; and the greatest *Omrahs* presented him one after another; and at last he was very honourably dismissed: for Aureng-Zebe had him apparelled with another rich *Ser-aph* or vest, to which he added considerable presents for himself, reserving those he intended for his King, 'till he should send an Ambassador expressly; which some time after he did.

Notwithstanding all these testimonies of honour and respect which Aureng-Zebe had shew'd to this Ambassador, the same Persians, above spoken of, gave out, that their King had sensibly reproached him in his letters, with the death of Dara, and the imprisonment of Chah-Jehan, as actions unworthy of

a brother, and a son, and a Musulman ; and that he had also hit him with the word *Alem-Guire*, or Conquerour of the World, which Aureng-Zebe had caused to be engraven on his coyn. But 'tis hard to believe, that the King of Persia should do any such thing to provoke such a victorious Prince, since Persia is not in a condition to enter into a war with Indostan ; I am rather apt to believe, that Persia hath work enough to keep Kandahar on the side of Indostan, and the frontiers on the side of Turkey : its forces and riches are known ; it produceth not always such great Kings as the Chah-Abbas, valiant, intelligent, and politick, knowing to make use of every thing, and to do much with small expences. If it were in a condition of undertaking any thing, against Indostan, or really sensible of piety and the Musulman faith, why was it that in these last troubles and civil wars, which continued so long in Indostan, the Persians sat still and looked on, when Dara, Chah-Jehan, Sultan Sujah, and perhaps the Governour of Caboul desired their assistance ; and they might with no very great army, not great expences have seized on the fairest part of India, beginning from the kingdom of Caboul, into the river Indus, and beyond it, and so made themselves umpires of all things ? Yet notwithstanding there must needs have been some offensive expressions in those Persian letters, or else the Ambassador must have done or said something that displeased Aureng-Zebe ; because two or three days after he had dismissed him, he made a rumor to be spread abroad, that the Ambassador had caused the ham-strings of the presented horses to be cut ; and

the Ambassador being yet upon the frontiers, he made him return all the Indian slaves which he carried along with him, of which he had a prodigious number.

Mean while, Aureng-Zebe was not so much concern'd, not troubled himself so much with this Ambassador, as Chah-Jehan, upon a like occasion, did with him, that was sent to him from the great Chah-Abbas. When the Persians are in the humor of rallying against, the Indians, they relate these three or four little stories of them. They say, that Chah-Jehan seeing that the courtship and promises made to their Ambassador were not able to prevail with him, so as to make him perform his salute after the Indian mode, he devised this artifice ; he commanded to shut the great gate of the Court of the *Amkas* where he was to receive him, and to leave only open the wicket through which one man could not pass but very difficultly, by stooping and holding down his head, as the fashion is, when one maketh an Indian reverence, to the end that it might be said, he had made the Ambassador put himself in a posture, which was something lower than the Indian *Salam*, or Salute ; but that that Ambassador being aware of this trick, came in with his back foremost : and that Chah-Jehan, out of indignation to see himself catch'd, told him, "Eh *Bed-bakt*, thou wretch, dost thou think thou comest into a stable of asses, such as thou art?" and that the Ambassador, without any alteration, answer'd, "Who would not think so, seeing such a little door?"

Another story is this, that at a certain time Chah-Jehan taking ill some coarse and fierce answers return'd

to him by the Persian Ambassador, could not hold to tell him, "What, hath Chah-Abbas no other men at his Court, that he must send to me such a fool as thy self?" and that the Ambassador answer'd, "he hath many better and wiser than me, but to such a King, such an Ambassador." They add, that on a certain day Chah-Jehan, who had made the Ambassador to dine in his presence, and sought some occasion to affront him, seeing that he was busie in picking and gnawing of bones, asked him smiling, "Eh *Eltchy-Gi*, My Lord Ambassador, what shall the dogs eat?" and that he answer'd readily, "*Kichery*," that is, a dish of pulse, which is the food of the meaner sort of people, and which he saw Chah-Jehan eat, because he loved it.

They say also, that Chah-Jehan once asked him, what he thought of his new Dehli (which he was building) in comparison of Hispahan? And that he answer'd aloud, and with an oath, "*Billah, Billah*, Hispahan doth not come near the dust of Dehli"; which Chah-Jehan took for a high commendation, though the Ambassador mocked him, because the dust is so troublesom at Dehli.

Lastly, they relate that Chah-Jehan one day pressing him to tell him, what he thought of the grandeur of the Kings of Indostan, compared to that of the the Kings of Persia? He answer'd, that, in his opinion, one could not better compare the King of India than to a large moon of 15 or 16 days old, and those of Persia, to a small moon of two or three days. And that this answer did at first please Chah-Jehan, but that soon after he perceived, that that comparison did him but little honour, the Ambassador's sence being,

that the Kings of Indostan were decreasing, and those of Persia increasing.

Whether these points are so commendable, and such marks of wit, every one is free to judge, as he seeth cause. My opinion is, that a discreet and respectful gravity is much more becoming Ambassadors, than rallery and roughness, especially, when they have to do with Kings, who will not be rallied with, witness an accident that befell this very Ambassador; for Chah-Jehan was at length so weary of him, and his freedom, that he called him no otherwise than fool; and one day gave secret order, that when he should enter into a pretty long and narrow street, that is near the fortress, to come to the Hall of Assembly, they should let loose upon him an ill-conditioned and fierce elephant; and certainly, if the Ambassador had not nimbly leapt out of his *Paleky*, and, together with dextrous attendants, shot some arrows into the trunk of the elephant, which forced him to turn back, he had been utterly spoiled.

It was at this time, upon the departure of the Persian Ambassador, that Aureng-Zebe received with that admirable wisdom his tutor Mallah-Sale, the history of which is rare and considerable. This old man, who long since had retired himself towards Caboul, and settled himself on some lands, which Chah-Jehan had given him, had no sooner heard of the great fortune of Aureng-Zebe his discipline, who had overcome Dara and all his other brothers, and was now King of Indostan, but he came in haste to the Court, swelled with hopes of being presently advanced to no less than the dignity of of an *Omrah*. He maketh

his court, and endeavors to engage all his friends, and Rauchenara-Begum, the King's sister, employs her self for him. But yet there pass three whole months, that Aureng-Zebe does not so much as seem to look upon him; till at length wearied to have him always at his elbow, and before his face, he sent for him to a place apart, where there was no body but *Hakim-lul-Mouluk*, Danechmend-Kan, and three or four of those *Omrahs*, that pretend to science, and then spoke to him to this effect (as I was informed by my *Agah*.)

"What is it you would have of me Doctor? Can you reasonably desire I should make you one of the chief *Omrahs* of my Court? Let me tell you, if you had instructed me as you should have done, nothing would be more just: for I am of this perswasion, that a child well educated and instructed, is as much, at least, obliged to his master as to his father: but where are those good documents you have given me? In the first place you have taught me, that all that *Frangistan* (so it seems they call Europe) was nothing, but I know not what little island, of which the greatest King was he of Portugal, and next to him he of Holland, and after him he of England; and as to the other Kings, as those of France and Andalusia, you have represented them to me as our petty *Raja's*; telling me, that the Kings of Indostan were far above all together, and that they were the true and only Houmayons, the Ekbars, the Jehan-Guyres, the Chah-Jehans, the Fortunate ones, the Great ones, the Conquerors and Kings of the world; and that Persia and Usbec, Kachguer, Tartar and Catay, Pegu, China, and Matchina did tremble at the name of the Kings of

Indostan. Admirable Geography! You should rather have taught me exactly to distinguish all those different States of the world, and well to understand their strength, their way of fighting, their customs, religions, governments and interest; and by the perusal of solid history, to observe their rise, progress, decay, and whence, how, and by what accidents and errors, those great changes and revolutions of empires and kingdoms have happened. I have scarce learnt of you the name of my grandsires, the famous Founders of this Empire; so far were you from having taught me the history of their life and what course they took to make such great conquests. You had a mind to teach me the Arabian tongue, to read and to write, I am much obliged to you (forsooth) for having made me lose so much time upon a language, that requires ten or twelve years to attain to its perfection as if the son of a King should think it to be an honour to him, to be a Grammarian, or some Doctor of the Law, and to learn other languages than those of his neighbors when he cannot well be without them; he to whom time is so precious for so many weighty things, which he ought by times to learn. As if there were any spirit that did not with some reluctance, and even with a kind of debasement, employ it self in so sad and dry an exercise, so longsom and tedious as is that of learning words."

Thus did Aureng-Zebe resent the pedantick instructions of his tutor; to which 'tis affirmed in that Court, that after some entertainment which he had with others, he further added the following reproof.

'Know you not, that childhood well govern'd,
'being a state which is ordinarily accompanied with
'an happy memory, is capable of thousands of good
'precepts and instructions, which remain deeply
'impressed the whole remainder of a man's life, and
'keep the mind always raised for great actions?
'The Law, Prayers, and Sciences, may they not as well
'be learned in our mother-tongue, as in Arabick?
'You told my father Chah-Jehan, that you would
'teach me Philosophy. 'Tis true, I remember very well,
'that you have entertain'd me for many years with airy
'questions, of things that afford no satisfaction at all to
'the mind, and are of no use in humane society, empty
'notions, and meer phancies, that have only this in
'them, that they are very hard to understand and very
'easie to forget, which are only capable to tire and
'spoil a good understanding, and to breed an opinion
'that is insupportable. I still remember, that after you
'had thus amused me, I know not how long, with your
'fine Philosophy, all I retained of it, was a multitude
'of barbarous and dark words, proper to bewilder,
'perplex, and tire out the best wits, and only invented,
'the better to cover the vanity and ignorance of men
'like your self, that would make us believe, that they
'know all, and that under those obscure and ambiguous
'words, are hid great mysteries, which they alone are
'capable to understand: if you had season'd me with
'that Philosophy, which formeth the mind to Ratiocina-
'tion, and insensibly accustoms it to be satisfied with
'nothing but solid reasons; if you had given me those
'excellent precepts and doctrines, which raise the
'soul above the assaults of Fortune, and reduce her to

'an unshakeable and always equal temper, and permit her not to be listed up by prosperity, nor debased by adversity; if you had taken care to give me the knowledge of what we are, and what are the first principles of things; and had assisted me in forming in my mind a fit *Idea* of the greatness of the Universe, and of the admirable order and motion of the parts thereof; if, I say, you had insisted into me this kind of Philosophy, I should think my self incomparably more obliged to you, than Alexander was to his Aristotle; and believe it my duty to recompence you otherwise, than he did him. Should not you, instead of your flattery, have taught me some what of that point so important to a King, which is, what the reciprocal duties are of a sovereign to his subjects, and those of subjects to their sovereign? And ought not you to have consider'd, that one day I should be obliged with the sword to dispute my life and the Crown with my brothers? Is not that the destiny almost of all the sons of Indostan? Have you ever taken any care to make me learn, what 'tis to besiege a town, or to set an army in array? For these things I am obliged to others, not at all to you. Go, and retire to the village whence you are come, and let no body know who you are, or what is become of you.'

At that time there arose a kind of tempest against Astrologers, which did not displease me. Most people of Asia are so infatuated by Judiciary Astrology, that they believe there is nothing done here below, but 'tis written above (for so they speak.) In all their undertakings therefore they consult Astrologers. When two armies are ready to give battel, they beware of

falling on, till the Astrologer hath taken and determined the moment he fancies propitious for the beginning of the combat. And so, when the matter is about electing a Captain-General of an army, of despatching an Ambassador, of concluding a marriage, of beginning a voyage, and of doing any other thing, as buying a slave, putting on new apparel, &c. nothing of all that is done, without the sentence of *Mr. Star-Gazer*; which is an incredible vexation, and a custom drawing after it such important consequences, that I know not how it can subsist so long: for the Astrologer must needs have knowledge of all that passeth, and of all that is undertaken, from the greatest affairs to the least.

But behold, it happen'd that the Prime Astrologer of the King was drown'd which occasioned a great noise at Court, and was great discredit to Astrology: for he being the person that determined the moments of all enterprizes and actions for the King, and the *Omrahs*, every one wondred, how a man so experienced, and that for so long time had dispensed good adventures to others, could not foresee his own misfortune. There were not wanting those, who pretended to be wiser than others, and said, that in *Frangistan*, where Sciences did flourish, the grandees do suspect all such kind of people, and that some hold them even no better than mountebanks, that 'tis much doubted, whether this knowledge is groundd upon good and solid reasons, and that it may very well be some fancy of Astrologers, or rather an artifice to make them selves necessary to the great ones, and to make them in some measure to depend on them.

All these discourses very much displeased the Astrologers; but nothing angered them so much as this story, become very famous, viz. that the great Chah-Abas King of Persia, commanded to be digged and prepared a little place in his seraglio to make a garden; that the young trees were all ready, and that the gardener made account to plant them the next day. Mean time the Astrologer taking upon him, said, that a good nick of time was to be observed for planting them, to make them prosper. Chah-Abas being content it should be so, the Star Gazer took his instruments, turned over his books, made his calculation, and concluded, that by reason of such and such a conjunction and aspect of the planets, it was necessary they should be set presently. The master-gardener, who minded nothing less than this Astrologer, was not then at hand; yet for all that, they fell to work immediately, making holes, and planting the trees. Chah-Abas himself setting them, that it might be said, that they were trees set with Chah-Abas's own hands. The gardener returning at night, was sufficiently amazed when he saw the work done; and finding that the right place and order designed by him, was not taken; that, for example, an apricock tree stood where an apple-tree should stand, and a pear-tree where an almond-tree. being heartily angry with the Astrologer, caused all the trees to be plucked up again and laid them down, with some earth about them, for next morning, the time chosen by himself. The news hereof came soon to the ears of the Astrologer, who presently told Chah-Abas of it: he forthwith sent for the gardener, and with

some indignation asked him, what had made him so bold, as to pull up those young trees he had planted with his own hand ? That the time had been so exactly taken for them, that so good an one would never be had again ; and that so he had marred all. The rude gardener, who had a cup of *Chiras*-wine in his head, look'd aside upon the Astrologer, and grumbling and swearing, said to him these words "*Billah, Billah*, that must needs be an admirable point of time which thou hast taken for these trees, unhappy Astrologer ! They were planted this day noon, and this evening they have been plucked up again." When Chah-Abas heard this, he fell a laughing, turned his back upon the Astrologer, and went away.

I shall here add two particulars, though hapned in the time of Chah-Jehan, because such things fall out often enough, and do withall give occasion to observe that ancient and barbarous custom, which make the Kings of India heirs of the goods of those that die in their service. The first was of Neiknam-Kan, one of the most ancient *Omrahs* of the Court, and who for the space of 40 or 50 years, wherein he had always been employ'd in considerable offices, had heaped up great store of gold and silver. This Lord seeing himself near his end, and thinking upon this unreasonable custom, which often renders the wife of a great man, upon his decease, poor and miserable in an instant, and necessitates her to present a petition, begging some small pension for her subsistence, and for that of her children, who are constrained to list themselves for common soldiers under some *Omrah* who, I say, considering this with himself, secretly distributed

all his treasure to indigent Knights, and poor widows filled his trunks with old pieces of iron, old shoes, rags and bones, and locked and sealed them, telling every body that they were goods belonging to Chah-Jehan the King. These trunks, after his death, were brought before Chah-Jehan, when he was in the assembly, and by his command instantly opened in the presence of all the *Omrahs*, that saw all this fine stuff, which so provoked and discomposed Chah-Jehan, that he rose in great fury, and went away.

The other is only a piece of gallantry. A rich *Banian*, or Heathen merchant, being a great usurer, (as most of them are) who had always been in employment, and in the pay of the King, came to dye. Some years after his death, his son did extremely importune the widow, his mother, to let him have some money; she finding him to be a prodigal and debauched youth, gave him as little as she could. This young fool, by the perswasion of others like himself, made his complaints to Chah-Jehan, and was so silly, as to discover to him all the goods his father had left, which amounted to two hundred thousand Rupies, or hundred thousand crowns. Chah-Jehan, who soon got an itch for this treasure, sent for the widow, and commanded her in the open assembly to send him an hundred thousand Rupies, and to give fifty thousand to her son, giving order at the same time to put her away. The old woman, though surprized at this command, and perplexed enough, that she was so suddenly thrust out, without the liberty of speaking, yet lost not her judgment, but with a loud voice gave out, that she had something of moment to discover to his Majesty:

whereupon being brought in again, she said, "God save your Majesty ; I find that my son hath some reason to demand of me the goods of his father, as being of his and my flesh and blood, and therefore our heir ; but I would gladly know, what kindred your Majesty is to my deceased husband, to be his heir." When Chah-Jehan heard so plain a piece of rallery, and a discourse of parentage of the King of the Indies, with a *She-Banian*, or idolatrous she-merchant, he could not hold laughing, and commanded she should be gone, and that nothing should be asked of her.

But to return, I shall not relate all the other considerable things that have happened since the end of the war, that is, since 1660, unto my departure, which was above six years after ; though doubtless that would tend much to the design I had in relating the other particulars, which is, to make known the genius and temper of the Mogols and Indians. This I may do in another place : here I shall only give an account of five or six particulars, which those that shall have read this relation, will doubtless be curious of.

The first, that though Aureng-Zebe made Chah-Jehan his father, to be kept in the fortress of Agra with all imaginable care and caution ; yet notwithstanding he still left him in his old apartment with Begum-Saheb, his eldest daughter, his other women, singers, dancers, cooks, and others, nothing of that kind was wanting to him. There were also certain *Mullahs*, that were permitted to come and to read the *Alcoran* to him (for he was become very devout.) And when he thought fit, there were brought before him brave horses, and tamed gazelles (which is a

kind of goat) to make them fight with one another as also divers sorts of birds of prey, and several other rare animals, to divert him as formerly. Aureng-Zebe himself used an art to overcome at last his fierceness and obstinacy, which he had hitherto kept, though a prisoner. And this was the effects of the obliging letters, full of respect and submission, which he often wrote to his father, consulting him often as his Oracle, and expressing a thousand cares for him ; sending him also uncessantly some pretty present or other, whereby Chah-Jehan was so much gained, that he also wrote very often to Aureng-Zebe touching the Government and State affairs, and of his own accord sent him some of those jewels, which before he had told him of, that hammers were ready to beat them to powder the first time he should again ask for them. Besides, he consented that the daughter of Dara, which he had so peremptorily denied, should be deliver'd to him ; and granted him at length that pardon and paternal blessing which he had so often desired without obtaining it. Yet under all this, Aureng-Zebe did not always flatter him ; on the contrary, he sometimes return'd sharp answers, when he met with strains in his fathers letters that were pregnant, or expressed something of his former height and authority. Of this we may judge by the letter, which I know from a very good hand was once written to him by Aureng-Zebe, to this effect :

“ Sir You would have me indispensably follow those ancient customs, and make my self heir to all those that are in my pay with the wonted rigor : an

Omrah and even a merchant can no sooner dye, and sometimes even before his death, but we seal up his trunks, and seize on his goods, and make a strict enquiry into his estate, imprisoning and ill-treating the officers of the house to discover to us all he hath, even to the least jewels. I will believe that there is some policy in doing so, but it cannot be denied, that 'tis very rigorous, and sometimes very unjust, and to speak the very truth, we may deserve well enough, that the same should befall us every day what hapned to you from your Neikman-Kan, and from the widow of your rich Indian merchant. Moreover (said he) it seems, I am by you reputed proud and haughty now I am King: as if you knew not by the experience of more than forty years of your reign, how heavy an ornament a Crown is, and how many sad and restless nights it passeth through: as if I could forget that excellent passage of Mir-Timur, (commonly called Tamberlan) which is so seriously delivered to us by that great grand-father of ours, Ekbar, to the end that we might the more weigh the importance and value of it, and consider whether, we have cause to pride our selves so much in a Crown. You well know, that he said, that the same day when Timur took Bajazet, he made him come before him, and having fixed his eyes on him, fell a laughing; at which Bajazet being highly offended, fiercely said to him, 'Laugh not at my fortune, Timur; know that 'tis God that is the dispenser of kingdoms and empires; and that the same can befall you to morrow, that hath befallen me to day.' Whereupon Timur made this serious and brave answer, 'I know as well as you,

of his son: he maketh the Emir a *Mir-ul Omrah* which is in that empire the greatest degree of honour that a favourite can be raised to: and as to Mahmet-Emir-kan, he maketh him the Great-*Bakhis*, which is a dignity and charge like that of our Great Master of the Horse, the second or third office in the State, but such an one as absolutely obligeth the possessor of it to be always at the Court, not suffering him, but very difficultly, to be absent from the person of the King.

The Emir soon perceived, that Aureng-Zebe had skilfully put by the stroke, that it would be in vain the second time to ask of him his son; that he could not do it without offending him, and that therefore the safest way would be to rest contented with all the testimonies of friendship, and with all the honours, together with the Government of Bengale; being in the mean time always upon his guard, and in such a posture, that since he could attempt nothing against Aureng-Zebe, Aureng-Zebe should not be able to attempt any thing against him.

Thus have we seen these two great men carry themselves to one another: and in this condition did affairs remain for almost a year; till Aureng-Zebe, too well knowing that a great Captain cannot be long at rest, and that, if he be not employed in a foreign war, he will at length raise a domestick one; proposed to him to make war upon that rich and potent Raja of Acham, whose territories are on the north of Dake, upon the Gulf of Bengale. The Emir, who in all appearance had already designed this same thing of himself, and who believed, that the conquest of this country, would make way for his immortal

honour, and be an occasion of carrying his arms as far as China, declared himself ready for this enterprize. He embarked at Dake with a puissant army, upon a river which comes from those parts ; upon which having gone about an hundred leagues north-eastward, he arrived at a castle called Azo, which the Raja of Acham had usurped from the kingdom of Bengale, and possessed for many years. He attacked this place, and took it by force in less than fifteen days ; thence marching over land towards Chamdara, which is the inlet into the country of that Raja ; he entered into it after 26 days journey, still northward. There a battel was fought, in which the Raja of Acham was worsted, and obliged to retreat to Guerguon, the metropolis of his kingdom, four miles distant from Chamdara. The Emir pursued him so close, that he gave him no time to fortifie himself in Guerguon : for he arrived in sight of that town in five days, which constrained the Raja, seeing the Emir's army, to fly towards the mountains of the kingdom of Lassa, and to abandon Guerguon, which was pillaged as had been Chamdara. They found there vast riches, it being a great, very fair and merchant-like town, and where the women are extraordinarily beautiful. Mean time, the season of the rains come in sooner than usually ; and they being excessive in those parts, and overflowing all the countrey, except such villages as stand on raised ground, the Emir was much embarassed. For the Raja made his people of the mountains come down from all parts thereabout, and to carry away all the provisions of the field ; whereby th Emir's army (as rich as 'twas) before the end of

shew not only the passed and present state of the kingdoms of Bengale and Rakan, which hitherto hath not been well described to us by any; but also some other things that are worth knowing.

To the end therefore that the importance of Chah-hest-kan's attempt may be well understood, and a good idea be had of what passeth about the Gulf of Bengale, we are to know, that these many years there have always been in the kingdom of Rakan or Moy, some Portugueses, and with them a great number of their Christian slaves, and other *Franguis*, gather'd from all parts. That was the refuge of the run-aways from Goa, Ceilan, Cochin, Malague, and all those other places, which the Portugueses formerly held in the Indies, and they were such as had abandoned their Monasteries, men that had been twice or thrice married, murderers. In a word, such as had deserved the rope, were most welcome and most esteem'd there, leading in that country a life that was very detestable, and altogether unworthy of Christians, insomuch that they impunely butchered and poisoned one another, and assassinated their own Priests, who sometimes were not better than themselves. The King of Rakan in the apprehension he hath ever had of the Mogol, kept them for a guard of his frontiers, in a port-town called Chategon, giving them land, and liberty to live as they pleased. Their ordinary trade was robbery and piracy. With some small and light Gallies they did nothing but coast about that sea, and entring into all rivers thereabout, and into the channels and arms of ganges, and between all those isles of the lower Bengale, and often penetrating even so far as fourty or fifty

leagues up into the country, surprized and carried away whole towns, assemblies, markets, feasts and weddings of the poor Gentiles, and others of that country, making women slaves, great and small, with strange cruelty ; and burning all they could not carry away. And thence it is, that at present there are seen in the mouth of Ganges so many fine isles quite deserted, which were formerly well peopled, and where no other inhabitants are found but wild beasts, and especially tygers.

This great number of slaves, which thus they took from all quarters, behold what use they made of. They had boldness and impudence enough, to come and sell to that very country the old people, which they knew not what to do with ; where it so fell out, that those who had escaped the danger by flight, and by hiding themselves in the woods, labour'd to redeem to day their fathers and mothers, that had been taken yesterday. The rest they kept for their service to make rowers of them, and such Christians as they were themselves, bringing them up to robbing and killing ; or else they sold them to Portugueses of Goa, Ceilan, St. Thomas, and others, and even to those that were remaining in Bengale at Ogouli, who were come thither to settle themselves there by the favour of Jehan-Guyre, the grandfather of Aureng-Zebe, who suffered them there upon the account of traffick, and of his having no aversion to Christians, as also because they promised him to keep the Bay of Bengale clear from all pyrates. And it was towards the isle of Galles, near the Cape of Palmes, where this fine trade was. These pyrates lay there in wait at the passage for the Portugueses, who filled their ships with them

at a very easie rate ; this infamous rabble impudently bragging, that they made more Christians in one year, than all the Missionaries of the Indies in ten ; which would be a strange way of enlarging Christianity.

These were the pyrates that made Chah-Jehan, who was a more zealous Mahumetan than his father Jehan-Guyre, to express at last his passion, not only against the Reverend Fathers the Jesuits, Missionaries of Agra, in that he caused to be pulled down the best part of a very fair and large Church that had been built, as well as that of Lahor, by the favour of Jehan-Guyre, who as I said, did not hate Christianity ; and upon which there stood a great steeple with a great bell in it, whose sound might be heard over all the town not only, I say, against those Jesuits, but also against the Christians of Ogouli : for being impatient to see them connive at the pyrates, to make the name of the *Frangus* formidable, and to fill their houses with slaves that were his own subjects, he wasted and utterly ruined them, after he had both with fair words and menaces drawn from them as much money as he could : and because they were indiscreetly obstinate, in refusing what he demanded of them, he besieged them, and caused them all to be brought to Agra, even their very children, their Priests and Friars. This was a misery and a desolation not be parallell'd ; a kind of Babilonian transmigration. There they were all made slaves : the handsom women were shut up in the seragho ; the old women and others were distributed among divers *Omrahs*. The young lads were circumcised, and made pages ; and men of age renounced for the most part their faith, either

terrified by the threatnings they heard daily, that they should be trampled upon by elephants, or drawn away by fair promises. 'Tis true, that there were some of those Friars, who persisted, and that the Missionaries of Agra, who notwithstanding all this unhappiness remained in their houses, found means afterwards, partly by friends, partly by money, to get many of them away, and to have them conveyed to Goa, and to other places belonging to the Portugueses.

They were also the same pyrates, who some time before the desolation of Ogouli, offered to the Viceroy of Goa to put the whole kingdom of Rakan into their hands for the King of Portugal ; but he refused, they say, this offer, out of arrogance and jealousy, and would not send the succours, which for that end was demanded of him by a certain Bastian Gonsalve, who had made himself head of those people, and was become so potent and considerable, that he married one of the Kings daughters, being unwilling that it should be said, that a man of so mean extraction as this Bastian was, had done such a master-piece. But it may be said on this occasion, that this is not much to be wondred at, considering that the Portugueses in the Indies by such a conduct have divers times been faulty on the like occasions, in Japan, in Pegu, in Ethiopia, and other places ; not to mention, that by this way, and that perhaps by a just Divine chastisement (as they all frankly confess themselves) they are become a prey to their enemies, and fallen so low in the Indies, that I know not whether they will ever recover there ; whereas formerly, before they were corrupted by vice, and degenerated through pleasure,

they made all others tremble in those parts ; forasmuch as then they were brave and generous men, zealous for the Christian religion, considerable for gallant exploits, and for riches ; all the Indian Kings seeking their friendship.

Besides this, the same pyrates seized at that time on the isle of Sondiva, an advantageous post to command a part of the mouth of Ganges : in which isle a certain Augustin Frier, a very famous man, acted the King for many years, having taken a course, God knows how, to rid himself of the Commander of that place.

Moreover, that same robbers took Sultan Sujah at Daka, to carry him away in their galeasses to Rakan as we related above, and found means to open his coffers, and to rob him of good store of jewels, which afterwards were secretly, and at a very cheap rate, sold in Rakan, most of them being fallen into the hands of people that had no skill in them, and afterwards into the hands of the Hollanders, and others, who knew how to buy them up quickly, making those fellows believe, that they were soft diamonds, and that they would pay them according to the degrees of their hardness.

Lastly, they are they that for many years have given exercise to the Great Mogol in Bengale ; having obliged him there to keep always garrisons every where upon the passes, and a great militia, and a fleet also of galeasses to oppose thier courses, and who, notwithstanding all this, have made shift to make strange devastations, and often to enter far into the country, and to laugh at all the souldiery of the

Mogols ; in regard they were become so bold, and so dextrous at their weapons, and so skilful in piloting their galeasses, that four or five of them stuck not to set upon fourteen or fifteen Mogolians, which they also actually worsted, and took or run aground. And upon these pyrates Chah-hest-kan cast his eyes as soon as he came into Bengale, taking a resolution to deliver the country of this plague of people, that had so long wasted it ; and designing afterwards to pass on, and to attack the King of Rakan, according to the order of Aureng-Zebe, who at any price had a mind to revenge the blood of Sultan Sujah, and all his family, that had been so cruelly handled, and to teach that barbarian, how the Blood Royal was to be regarded and esteemed on any occasion whatsoever. Behold now with what dexterity Chah-hest-kan carrieth on this design !

Knowing that 'tis impossible to pass any cavalry by land, no not so much as any infantry, from Bengale into Rakan, because of the many channels and rivers upon the frontiers ; and also that on the other side, those pyrates of Chatigon, whom we just now were speaking of, would be powerful enough to hinder him from transporting them by sea ; he thought upon this experiment, viz. to engage the Hollanders in his design. He therefore sent a kind of Ambassador to Batavia, empowering him to treat upon certain conditions, with the General of that Company, joynly to subdue the whole kingdom of Rakan ; as formerly Chah-Abbas subdued that of Ormus, in conjunction with the English. The General of Batavia seeing the thing to be possible, and that it was a means more and more

to break the Portugueses in the Indies, and that it would turn to a very good account to the Company, dispatch'd away two Men of War for Bengale, to favour the transportation of the Mogolian troops in spight of those pyrates. But observe what Chah-hest-kan did before these Men of War arriv'd : he equipped a great number of galeasses, and many large vessels to transport the army ; threatned the pyrates, utterly to spoil and ruin them ; acquainted them with the design of Aureng-Zebe upon Rakan ; that a potent army of the Dutch was near , that they should think on themselves and their families, if they were wise ; and in a word, if they would abandon the service of the King of Rakan, and take that of Aureng-Zebe, he would procure very good conditions for them, distribute amongst them as much land in Bengale as they desired, and pay them the double of what they had now.

'Tis doubtful, whether these menaces and promises made impression upon them, or whether it was not an accident that moved them, they having about that time assassinated one of the chief officers of the King of Rakan, and apprehending a punishment for that crime. However it be, they were caught, and they were one day struck with such a panick terror, that they shipp'd themselves all at once in forty or fifty of their galeasses, and wafted over to Bengale to Chah-hest-kan, and that with so much precipitation, that they hardly took time to embark their wives and children, and what else was most precious to them. Chah-hest-kan receiv'd them with open arms, courted them exceedingly, gave them very considerable

pay, and without letting them cool, made them, jointly with his whole army, to attack and take the isle of Sondiva, which was fallen into the hands of the King of Rakan, and thence to pass with all his horse and foot to Chatigon. About this time the two Holland vessels arrived, but Chah-hest-kan, who thought that henceforth it would be easie for him to compass his design, thanked them. I saw these ships in Bengale, and their Commanders, who were but little contented with such thanks and liberalities of Chah-hest-kan. As to the pyrates, since now he holds them fast, and hopeless of ever returning to Chatigon, and hath no more need of them, he makes nothing of all those large promises he made them, and treats them not as he should, but as they deserve, leaving them whole months without pay, and not looking upon them otherwise than traytors, and infamous men, unfit to be trusted, after they have so vilely deserted him, whose salt they had eaten so many years. After this manner did Chah-hest-kan put an end to this rabble, which as I said, have ruined and dispoiled all the lower Bengale. Time will shew whether he will be as happy in the remainder of his enterprize against the King of Rakan.

The fourth particular is concerning the two sons of Aureng-Zebe, viz. Sultan Mahmoud, and Sultan Mazum. He still keeps the first of them in Goualeor, but (if one may believe the common report) without making him take the *Poust*, which is the ordinary drink of those that are put into that place. As to the other, though he hath always been a pattern of reservedness and moderation, yet one knows not

whether he was not too forward in making a party, when his father was so extremely sick ; or whether Aureng-Zebe have not upon other occasions perceiv'd something that might give him cause of jealousy ; or whether he had not a mind to make an authentick proof of both his obedience and courage. However it be, one day he commanded him in an unconcerned manner, in a full assembly of the *Omrahs*, to go and kill a lyon that was come down of the mountains, and had made great havock and waste in the countrey ; and this he did, without giving order to furnish him with those strong and large nets, which they are wont to employ in this dangerous kind to hunting in a real mood ; telling the great Hunting-Master, who presently call'd for those nets, that when he was Prince, he did not look for such formalities. It was the good fortune of Sultan Mazum, that he prosper'd in this attempt, not losing any more than two or three men, and some horses that were wounded, although, on the other hand, the matter went not off so pleasantly, the wounded lyon having leapt up to the head of the Sultan's elephant. Since that time, Aureng-Zebe hath not been backward to express much affection to him ; he hath given him even the Government of Decan, though with so little power and treasure, that there is no great cause to apprehend any thing upon that account.

The fifth thing toucheth Mohabet-kan, the Governor of Kaboul, whom Aureng-Zebe took from his government, and generously pardon'd not willing, as he said, to lose so brave a Captain, and that had stuck so close to his benefactor Chah-Jehan, He made

him even Governor of Guzuratte, in the place of Jessomseigne, whom he sent to make war in Decan. It may very well be, that some considerable presents he made to Rauchenara-Begum, and a good number of excellent Persian horse and camels, wherewith he presented Aureng-Zebe, together with fifteen or sixteen thousand Rupies of gold, did contribute to make his peace.

On this occasion of mentioning the government of Kaboul, which borders upon the kingdom of Kandahar, which is now in the hands of the Persians, I shall here briefly add some particulars, that serve to this history and will still more discover that country, and declare that interests between Indostan and Persia, which no body, that I know of, hath explained hitherto.

Kandahar, that strong and important place, which is the capital and the swaying city of this noble and rich kingdom of the same name, hath in these latter ages been the subject of grievous wars between the Mogols and Persians, each of them pretending a right thereto. Ekbar, that great King of the Indies, took it by force from the Persians, and kept it during his life. And Chah-Abbas, that famous King of Persia, retook it from Jehan-Guyre, the son of Ekbar. Afterwards it return'd to Chah-Jehan, son of Jehan-Guyre, not by the sword, but by the means of the Governor Aly-Merdan-kan, who surrendred it to him, and went over to live at his Court, apprehending the artifices of his enemies, who had brought him into disfavour with the King of Persia, that sent for him to make him give an account,

and to deliver up his government. The same city was besieged, and retaken afterwards by the son of Chah-Abbas, and since that besieged twice again, yet without being taken by Chah-Jehan. The first time it was saved from being taken by the ill understanding and jealousy between the Persian *Omrahs*, that are pensioners of the Great Mogol, and the most powerful of his Court, as also by the respect they bear to their natural King: for they all behaved themselves very effeminately in the siege, and would not follow the *Raja Roup*, who had already planted his standards upon the wall on the side of the mountain. The second time it was saved by the jealousy of Aureng-Zebe, who would not fall into the breach of the wall, that our *Franguis* the English, Portugueses, Germans and French had made by their canon, though it was a large one; being unwilling to have it said, that in the time of Dara, who was in a manner, the first mover of that enterprise, and was then in the city of Caboul, with his father Chah-Jehan, the fortress of Kandahar was taken. Chah-Jehan, some years before the late trouble, was also ready to besiege it the third time, had not Emir-Jemla diverted him from it, advising him to turn his forces towards Decan, (as hath been said;) with whom Aly-Merdan-kan himself concurred, who was so earnest in his dissuading him from it, as to say to him these words, which I shall punctually relate, as having something extravagant in them:

“Your Majesty will never take Kandahar, unless you had such a traitor there as my self; except you were resolved never to bring a Persian into it, and to make

the *Bazars* or markets wholly free, that is, to lay no impost on those that furnish the army with provision."

At length, Aureng-Zebe like the others, had prepared himself in these latter years to besiege it also; whether it was that he was offended at the tart letters, written to him by the King of Persia, or by reason of the affronts and ill treatment which he had offer'd to Tarbiet-kan his Ambassador; that hearing of the King of Persia's death, he turned back, saying, (which yet is not very credible) that he would not meddle with a child, a new King; although Chah-Soliman, who hath succeeded his father, is, in my opinion, about 25 years of age.

The sixth particular we purposed to speak of, concerns those that have faithfully served Aureng-Zebe. Those he hath almost all raised to great places. For first, as we have already related, he made Chah-hest-kan, his uncle, Governor and General of the army of Decan, and afterwards, Governor of Bengale. Next, he made Mir-kan Governor of Kaboul; then Kalil-ullah-kan, of Lahor; and Mirbaba, of Elabas; and Laskar-kan, of Patna. The son of that Allah-Verdi-kan of Sultan Sujah, he appointed Governor of Scindya; and Fazel-kan, who had considerably serv'd him both by his counsels and dexterity, he made *Kane-saman*, that is, Great Steward of the House Royal: and Danechmend-kan, Governor of Dehli, with this particular grace and privilege, that since he is perpetually employed in studies and Foreign affairs, he so dispenseth with him for not coming twice a day (after the ancient custom) to wait on the King in the assembly, as not to retrench any thing of his pension for his

absence, as he doth to the other *Omrahs*, if they fail. He hath given to Dianet-kan the government of *Kacihmer* (*alias* Cassimere) that little, and in a manner inaccessible kingdom, which Ekbar seized on by craft, that earthly Paradise of the Indies; which hath its historians written in its peculiar language, whereof I have an abridgment in the Persian Tongue, made by the command of Jehan-Guvre, containing a large catalogue of many very ancient Kings, that often were so powerful, that they subdued the Indies as far as China.

'Tis true, that Aureng-Zebe dismissed Nejabat-kan, who did very well in the two battels of Samonguer and Kadjoue, but then 'tis not fit at all, that a subject should ever reproach his King, as he did, with the services done him.

As to those infamous men, Gion-Kan and Nazer, 'tis known, that the former hath been recompenced as he deserved; but the other no man knows what is become of him.

What concerns Jessomseigne and Jesseigne, there is something as to them that is intricate, which I shall endeavour to unfold. There is a certain Heathen revolted from the King of Visapour, who knew how to possess himself of many important fortresses, and of some sea-ports of that King. His name is Seva-Gi, that is, Lord *Seva*. He is a stout man, vigilant, bold, and undertaking in the highest degree, who gave Chah-hest-kan more work and trouble in Decan, than the King of Visapour with all his forces, and all his Raja's joined with him for their common defence; insomuch that having designed to take away Chah-hest-kan and his treasures out of the midst of his army,

and of the town Aureng-Abad, he carried on his design so far, that he had effected it, if he had not been discover'd a little too soon ; for one night, accompanied with a number of resolute fellows he hath about him, he was got into the very apartment of Chah-hest-kan, where his son, who was forward in the defence, was killed, and himself grievously wounded ; Seva-Gi, in the mean time getting away as well as he came : who for all this was so far from being daunted, that he undertook another very bold and very dangerous enterprise, which succeeded much better. He took two or three thousand chosen men of his army, with whom he took the field without noise, spreading a report by the way, that it was a Raja going to the Court. When he was near Suratte, that famous and rich port of the Indies, instead of marching further, (as he made the great provost of that country, whom he met, believe) he fell into that town, where he staid about three days, cutting off the arms and legs of the inhabitants, to make them confess where were the treasures ; searching, digging, and loading away, or burning what he could not carry with him. Which done, he returned, none opposing his return, loaden with millions of gold, silver, pearls, silken stuffs, fine linnen, and other rich merchandise. Jessomseigne was suspected to have had since intelligence with this Seva-Gi, which was the cause that Aureng-Zebe called him away from Decan ; but he, instead of going to Dehli, went to his own territory.

I forgot to mention, that in the plunder of Suratte, that ringleader Seva-Gi, like a saint, had so much respect to the house of the Reverend Father Ambrose,

a Missionary Capucian, that he gave order it should not be plundered ; " Because," said he, " I know that the Father *François* are good men." He had also regard to the house of the deceased de Lale, because he understood that he had been great almoner. He also consider'd the house of the English and Dutch, not from devotion, as he did the former, but because they were in a good posture of defence ; especially the English, who having had time to send for assistance from some of their ships that lay near the town, behaved themselves gallantly, and saved, besides their own, several other houses near them. But a certain Jew of Constantinople, who had brought rubies of a very great value, to sell them to Aureng-Zebe, carried away the bell from all, by saving himself from the hands of Seva-Gi ; for, rather than confess that he had any jewels, he was brought thrice upon his knees, and the knife held up to cut his throat : but it become none save a Jew, hardly in avarice, to escape in such a manner.

Touching Jesseigne, King Aureng-Zebe made him content to go General of the army in Decan, sending Sultan Mazum with him, without any power. He presently and vigorously besieged the principal fortress of Seva-Gi and knowing more than all the rest in matter of negociation and treaty, he so order'd the business, that Seva-Gi, surrendred before it came to extremity ; and then he drew him to Aureng-Zebe's party against Visapour, King Aureng-Zebe declaring him a Raja, taking him under his protection, and giving the pension of a very considerable *Omrah* to his son. Some time after, Aureng-Zebe designing to make war against Persia, wrote to Seva-Gi such obliging

letters touching his generosity, ability and conduct, that he made him resolve, upon the faith of Jesseigne, to come to him to Dehli. There a kinswoman of Aureng-Zebé, the wife of Chah-hest-kan, (who was then at Court) by the influence she had upon the spirit of Aureng-Zebe, persuaded him to arrest him that had murder'd her son, wounded her husband, and sacked Suratte: so that one evening Seva-Gi saw his pavilions beset with three or four *Omrahs*; but he made shift to get away in the night. This escape made a great noise at Court, every one accusing the eldest son of the Raja Jesseigne to have assisted him in it. Jesseigne, who presently had news that Aureng-Zebe was very angry with him and his son, and was advised no more to go to the Court, was day and night upon his guard, apprehending lest Aureng-Zebe should take this for a pretence to fall upon his lands, and possess himself of them. Whereupon he also soon left Decan to secure his estate; but when he was at Brampour, he died. Yet notwithstanding Aureng-Zebe was so far from expressing any coldness or resentment to the son of Jesseigne, that he sent to condole with him for the death of his father, and continued to him his pension; which confirms what many say, that it was by the consent of Aureng-Zebe himself, that Seva-Gi escaped, forasmuch as he could retain him no longer at Court, because all the women there had too great a spleen against him, and looked upon him as a man that had embroiled his hands in the blood of his kinsmen.

But to return to Decan, we are to consider, that that is a kingdom, which these forty years hath constantly been the theater of war, and upon the score

whereof the Mogol hath much to do with the Kings of Golkonda, and of Visapour, and divers little sovereigns, which is not to be understood, unless it be known, what considerable things have passed in those parts, and the condition of the Princes that govern them.

All this great Peninsula of Indostan, cutting it from the Bay of Cambaja unto that of Bengale, near *Jaguarate*, and passing thence to Cape Comori, was scarce two hundred years since entirely (some mountainous parts excepted) under the dominion of one only Prince, who consequently was a very great and very potent Monarch: but now it is divided among many different sovereigns, that are also of different religions. The cause of this division was, that the King Ramras, the last of those that have possessed this mighty state entirely, did imprudently raise three slaves, *Gurgis*, he had about him too high, so as to make them all three Governors of places. The first, of the greatest part of those countries, which at present are possessed by the Mogol in Decan, about Daulet-Abad, from Bider, Paranda, Suratte, unto Narbadar: the second, of all the other lands, now comprehended under the kingdom of Visapour: and the third, of all that is contained under the kingdom of Golkonda. These three slaves grew very rich, and found themselves supported by a good number of the Mogols, that were in the service of Ramras, because they were all three Mahumetans, of the sect *Chyas*, like the Persians. And at length they all revolted together with one accord, killed King Ramras, and return'd to their government, each taking upon him the title of *Chah* or King. The issue

of Ramras, not finding themselves strong enough for them, were content to keep themselves in a corner, viz. in that country which is commonly call'd Karnatek, in our maps, Bisnaguer, where they are still Raja's to this very day. All the rest of the State was also at the same time divided into all those Raja's *Naiques*, and petty Kings, such as we see there. These three slaves and their posterity have always defended themselves very well in their kingdoms, whil'st they kept a good mutual correspondence, and assisted one another in their grievous wars against the Mogols. But when they once came to think every one to defend their lands apart, they soon found the effects of their division. For the Mogol so well known to take his time upon that occasion, (which is now about thirty five, or forty years since) that he possess'd himself within a little time of all the country of Nejam-Chah, or King Nejam, the fifth or sixth of the family of the first slave, and at last took him prisoner in Daulet-Abad, the capital, where he died.

After that time, the Kings of Golkonda have maintain'd themselves well enough, not as if they could compare with the power of the Mogol, but because the Mogol hath always been employ'd against the two others; from whom he was to take Ambar, Paranda Bider, and some other places, before he could conveniently march towards Golkonda. And because they have always been so politick, being very opulent, as to furnish under-hand the King of Visapour with money and thereby to help him to maintain a war against the Mogol: besides that, they ever have a considerable army on foot, which is always ready, and never fails

to take the field, and to approach to the frontiers, at the time when there is news that that of the Mogol marches against Visapour; to let the Mogol see, not only that they are always ready to defend themselves, but also that they could easily assist the King of Visapour, in case he should be reduced to any extremity. Next, which is very considerable,*they know also how to convey mony underhand to the Chieftains of the Mogolian army; who thereupon advise the Court, that it is more to purpose to attack Visapour, as being nearer to Daulet-Abad. Further, they send every year very considerable presents to the Great Mogol, by way of tribute, which consist partly in some rare manufactures of the country; partly in elephants, which they send for from Pegu, Siam, and Ceilan, partly in fair ready mony. Lastly, the Mogol considers that kingdom as his own, not only because he looks upon the King thereof as his tributary, but chiefly, since that agreement hithertofore spoken of which the present King made with Aureng-Zebe, when he besieg'd Golkonda; and there being also no place able to resist, even from Daulet-Abad unto Golkonda, he judgeth, that when he shall think fit to push for it, he may take in the whole kingdom in one campagne; which, in my opinion, he would certainly have done, if he did not apprehend, lest sending his forces towards Golkonda, the King of Visapour should enter into Decan; as, no doubt, he would do, knowing it to be very important to his conservation, that that kingdom may always subsist as now it is.

From all which, something may be understood of the interests and government of the King of Golkonda

with the Mogol, and what way he taketh to support himself against him. Yet notwithstanding all this, I find this State much shaken, in regard that the King that now is, since that unhappy affair of Aureng-Zebe and Emir-Jemla, seems to have lost heart, and as 'twere abandon'd the reins of the kingdom, not daring any more to go forth of this fortress of Golkonda, nor so much as appear in publick to give audience to his people, and to render Justice, according to the custom of the country: which discomposeth things very much, and occasions the grandees to tyrannize over the meaner sort of people, and to lose even their respect to the King, often slighting his commands, and considering him no more than a woman; and the people, weary of the injustice and ill treatment, breathing after nothing but Aureng-Zebe. 'Tis easie to judge of the streights this poor King is in, by four or five particulars I am about to relate.

The first, that *Anno* 1667, when I was at Golkonda, King Aureng-Zebe having sent an Ambassador Extraordinary to declare war to that King, unless he would furnish him with ten thousand horse against Visapour, he did extraordinary honour, and give excessive presents to that Ambassador, as well for him in particular, as for Aureng-Zebe, and made an agreement with him, to send him, not ten thousand horse, but as much money as necessary to maintain so many; which was all that Aureng-Zebe look'd for.

The second is, that Aureng-Zebe's Ambassador in ordinary, that is constantly at Golkonda, commands, threatens, striketh, gives pass-ports, and saith and

doth whatsoever he will, no man daring with the least word to cross him.

The third is, that Mahmet-Emir-kan, the son of Emir-Jemla, though he be no more than a simple *Omrah* of Aureng-Zebe is yet so much respected through that whole kingdom, and especially in Maslipatan, that the Taptata, his Commissioner, is, as 'twere, master thereof, buying and selling, bringing in and sending abroad his merchants ships, no body daring to contradict him in any thing, nor to demand any customs. So great was once the power of Emir-Jemla his father in this kingdom, which time hath not yet been able to root out.

The fourth is, that the Hollanders scruple not to threaten him sometimes, to lay an embargo upon all the merchants ships of the country that are in that port, and not to let them go out, until their demands be granted; as also to put in protestations against him: which I have seen actually done, upon the account of an English vessel, which they had a mind to take by force in the port of Maslipatan it self the Governor having hindred it, by arming the whole town against them, and threatening to put fire to their Factory, and to put them all to death.

A fifth is, that the Portuguese, as poor, and miserable, and decayed, as they are in the Indies, yet stick not to threaten that King also war; and that they will come and sack Maslipatan, and all that coast, if he will not render them that place of St. Thomas, which some years ago they chose to put into his hands, rather than to be constrained to yield it up to the Dutch.

Yet for all this, I have been informed in Golkonda, by very intelligent persons, that this King is a Prince of very great judgment, and that whatever he so does and suffers, is only in policy, to the end to provoke no body, and principally to remove all suspicion from Aureng-Zebe, and to give him to understand, that he hath in a manner no share any more in the kingdom : but that in the mean time a son of his, that is kept hid, grows up, the father watching for a fit time to declare him King, and so to laugh at the agreement made with Aureng-Zebe. Of this, time will shew us more ; in the mean time, let us consider somewhat of the interests of Visapour.

The kingdom of Visapour hath also not been wanting to support it self, though the Mogol do almost continually make war against it ; not so much as if he of Visapour were able to bid head to the Mogolian forces, but because there is never any great effort used against him. For it is not very frequent there no more than 'tis elsewhere, for Generals of armies to desire the end of a war ; there being nothing so charming, as to be in the head of an army, commanding like little Kings, remote from the Court. It is also grown to a proverb, that Decan is the bread and life of the soldiers of Indostan. Besides, the country of Visapour is on the side of the Mogol's dominions of a very difficult access, upon the account of the scarcity of good waters, forage, and victuals ; and because Visapour, the capital city, is very strong, and situate in a dry and steril country, there being almost no good water but in the town. And lastly, because

there are many fortresses in that country, seated on hills hard to climb.

Yet notwithstanding all this, that State is much shaken, if considering that the Mogol hath taken Paranda, the key, as 'twere, of that kingdom; as also that fair and strong town Bider, and some other very important places: but principally, because the last King of Visapour died without heirs males, and he that now calls himself King, is a youth, whom the Queen, sister of the King of Golkonda, hath raised, and taken for her son (a favour for which he hath made an ill return, having shew'd no esteem for this Queen after her return from Mecca, under the pretext of some ill demeanor in her on a Dutch vessel that carried her to Moka :) Lastly, because that in the disorders of that kingdom, the Heathen-rebel, Seva-Gi, above discoursed of, found means to seize on many strong holds, mostly seated on steep mountains, where he now acteth the King, laughing at the Visapour, and the Mogol, and ravaging the country every where, from Suratte, even to the gates of Goa. This notwithstanding, if he wrongs Visapour one way, he helps to support it another, forasmuch as he is resolutely bent against the Mogol, preparing always some ambush, and cutting so much work for his army, that there is no discourse, no apprehension but of Seva-Gi; insomuch that he hath come and sacked Suratte, and pillaged the isle of Burdes, which belong to the Portuguese, and is near the gates of Goa.

The seventh particular, which I learn'd at Golkonda, when I was come away from Dehli, is the death of Chah-Jehan; and that Aureng-Zebe had been

exceedingly affected therewith, having discover'd all the marks of grief, that a son can express for the loss of his father: that at the very hour of receiving that news, he went towards Agra; that Begum-Saheb caused the Mosque, and a certain place, where he was at first to stop, before he entred the fortress, to be hung with richly embroider'd tapisteries: that at his entring into the seraglio, she presented him with a great golden bason, wherein were all her jewells, and all those of Chah-Jehan; and in short, that she knew to receive him with so much magnificence, and to entertain him with that dexterity and craft, that she obtain'd his pardon, gain'd his favour, and grew very confident with him.

To conclude, I doubt not, but most of those, who shall have read my history, will judge the ways taken by Aureng-Zebe, for getting the empire, very violent and horrid. I pretend not at all to plead for him, but desire only, that before he be altogether condemned, reflection be made on that unhappy custom of this State, which leaving the succession of the Crown undecided, for want of good Laws, settling it, as amongst us, upon the eldest son, exposeth it to the conquest of the strongest and the most fortunate, subjecting at the same time all the Princes born in the Royal Family, by the condition of their birth, to the cruel necessity either to overcome, or to reign, by destroying all the rest, for the assurance of their power and life, or to perish themselves, for the security of that of others: for I am apt to believe, that upon this consideration, the reader will not find Aureng-Zebe's conduct so strange as at first it

appear'd. However I am persuaded, that those who shall a little weigh this whole history, will not take Aureng-Zebe for a barbarian, but for a Great and rare Genius, a Great States-man, and a Great King.

*A LETTER TO THE LORD COLBERT OF THE
EXTENT OF INDOSTAN ; THE CIRCULATION OF
GOLD AND SILVER, COMING AT LENGTH TO BE
SWALLOWED UP, THERE, AS IN AN ABYSS ; THE
RICHES, FORCES, JUSTICE, AND THE PRINCIPAL
CAUSE OF THE DECAY OF THE STATES OF ASIA.*

MY LORD,

Since it is the custom of Aisa, never to approach great persons with empty hands, when I had the honour to kiss the vest of the Great Mogol Aureng-Zebe, I presented him with eight Roupies, [a Roupy is about half a crown] as an expression of respect ; and the illustrious Fazel-kan, the Prime Minister of State, and he that was to establish my pension as physitian, with a case of knives garnished with amber. My Lord, though I intend not to introduce new customs in France, yet I cannot forget this upon my return from those parts ; being persuaded, that I ought not to appear before the King, for whom I have a far deeper veneration, than for Aureng-Zebe ; nor before you, my Lord, for whom I have a much higher esteem, than for Fazel-kan, without some little present to both, which is rare, at least, for its novelty, though it be not so upon the account of the presenting hand. The revolution of Indostan, by reason of its

extraordinary occurrences and events, hath to me seemed worthy of the greatness of our Monarch, and this discourse, for the quality of the matters therein contained, sutable to the rank you hold in his counsels; to that conduct, which at my return appear'd to me so admirable in the order, which I found settled in so many things that I thought incapable of it; and to the passion you entertain to make it known to the ends of the earth, what a Monarch we have, and that the French are fit to undertake, and with honour to atchieve, whatever you shall have design'd for their honour and advantage.

'Tis in the Indies, my Lord (whence I am lately return'd, after twelve years absence) where I learn'd the felicity of France, and how much this kingdom is oblig'd to your cares; and where your name is so diffused, and so well-known. This were a fair theme for me to enlarge upon; but my design being no other than to discourse of things new, I must forbear to speak of those that are already so notorious to all the world. I shall doubtless please you better, by endeavouring to give you some idea of the state of the Indies, which I have engaged my self to give you an account of,

My Lord, you may have seen before this, by the maps of Asia, how great every way is the extent of the empire of the Great Mogol, which is commonly call'd India, or Indostan. I have not measur'd it mathematically; but to speak of it according to the ordinary journeys of the country, after the rate of three whole months march, traversing from the frontiers of the kingdom of Golkonda, as far as beyond

Kazni near Kandahar, which is the first town of Persia, I cannot persuade my self otherwise, but that it is at least five times as far as from Paris to Lyons, that is, about five hundred common leagues, -

Next, you may please to take notice, that of that vast extent of land, there are large countries that are very fertil, and some of them to that degree, (for example, that whole great kingdom of Bengale) that they exceed those of Egypt, not only upon the account of the abundance of rice, corn, and all other things necessary for life, but also upon the score of all those commodities so considerable, which Egypt is destitute of, as silks, cottons, indigo, and so many others, sufficiently related by authors.

Moreover, that of these same countries there are many that are well enough peopled and cultivated, and where tradesmen, though naturally very lazy there, are not wanting, either from necessity, or other causes, to apply themselves to work, as to tapisseries, embroideries, cloth of gold and silver, and to all those kinds of silk and cotton manufactures, that are used in the country, or transported to other parts.

You may further observe, how that gold and silver circulating as it were upon the earth, comes at last, in part, to be swallow'd up in this Indostan. For of that which comes out of America, and is dispersed through the several kingdoms of our Europe, we know, that one part is carried into Turkey many ways, for the commodities drawn thence; and that another part is conveyed into Persia, by the way of Smyrna, for the silks afforded there: that all Turkey generally needs coffee, which comes out of Hyeman, or Happy

Arabia, and is the common drink of the Turks : that the same Turkey as well as Hyeman and Persia cannot be without the commodities of India ; and that thus all those countries are obliged to carry to Moka over the Red-Sea, near Babel-mandel ; and to Bassora the utmost part of the Persian-Gulf ; and to Bandar-Abbast, or Gomoron 'near to Ormus, a part of that gold and silver, that had been brought into their country, to be thence transported into Indostan, in vessels, that yearly, in the season of the mounsons, come purposely to those three famous parts : that on the other hand, all those ships of India, whether they be Indian ones, or Dutch, or English, or Portuguese, that every year transport merchandise out of Indostan to Pegu, Tanasseri, Siam, Ceilan, Achem, Macasser, the Maldives, Mossambic, and other places, bring back also much gold and silver from all those countries, which meets with the same destiny, that the other doth : that of that quantity of gold and silver which the Hollanders draw from Japan, (which is stored with mines) a part also comes to be at length discharged in this Indostan : and that lastly, what is carried thither directly by sea, whether from Portugal, England or France, seldom comes back from thence but in merchandise, the rest remaining there, as the former.

I very well know, that it may be said, that this Indostan needs copper, cloves, nutmegs, cinamon, elephants, and sundry other things, which the Hollanders carry thither from Japan, the Molucques, Ceilan, and Europe ; as also that it hath occasion •for lead, which in part, it is furnish'd with out of

England ; likewise for scarlet, which it hath from France : moreover, that it stands in need of a good number of horses, it being certain, that from the side of Usbec it receives yearly more than 2500. That out of Persia also it is furnished with abundance of the same ; as also out of Ethiopia, Arabia, the ports of Moka, Bassora, and Bander-abbasy : besides, that it needs that store of fresh fruit, which comes thither from Samarkand, Ball-bocara, and Persia, as melons, apples, pears, and grapes, that are spent at Dehli, and bought at great rates, almost all the winter long ; as well as dry fruit, which are had there all the year long ; and come from the same countries, as almonds, pistaches, nuts, prunes, apricots, raisins, and the like. And that lastly, it wants those little sea-cockles of the Maldives, which serve for common coyn in Bengale, and in some other places : as also amber-grieece, carried thither from the said Maldives and Mosambic, rhinoceros-horns, elephants-teeth, musk, china-dishes, pearls of Babaren, and Tutucoury near Ceilan ; and I know not of how many other things of this kind.

But all this makes not the gold and silver to go out of that empire, because the merchants at their return freight their ships with the commodities of the country finding a better account by so doing, than if they should bring back mony, so that that hinders not, but that Indostan proves, as we have said, a kind of abyss for a great part of the gold and silver of the world, which finds many ways to enter there, and almost none to issue thence.

In a word, you may take notice, that this Great

Mogol makes himself heir of the *Omrahs* or Lords, and of the, *Mansab-dars*, or petty Lords, that are in his pay ; and, (which is of very great consequence) that all the lands of that empire are his propriety, excepting some houses and gardens, which he giveth leave to his subjects to sell, divide, or buy amongst them, as they shall think fit.

These are the things, which sufficiently show, both that there must needs be a very great store of gold and silver in Indostan, though there be no mines ; and also that the Great Mogol, the Sovereign of the same, at least, of the best part of it, hath immense revenues and riches.

But on the other hand, there are also many things to be observed, which are a poise to these riches. The first, that among those vast tracts of land there is much, which is nothing but sand and steril mountains, little tilled or peopled : that even of those that would be fertile, there is much, that is not used for want of workmen, some of which have perished by the too evil treatment of the Governors, who often take from them their necessary livelihood, and sometimes their very children whom they make slaves when they are not able, or are unwilling to pay : others have abandon'd the field for the same reason, and desponding out of the consideration that they labour'd only for others, have cast themselves into towns, or into armies, to serve there for porters or waiting men, and many have fled to the lands of the *Rajas*, because there they found less tyranny, and more kindness.

The second is, that in this same extent of country

there are sundry nations, which the Mogol is not full master of, most of them retaining yet their particular Sovereigns and Lords, that obey him not, nor pay him tribute but from constraint; many, that do little; some, that do nothing at all; and some also, that receive tribute from him, as we shall see anon. Such are those petty Sovereigns, that are seated on the frontiers of Persia, who almost never pay him any thing no more than they do to the King of Persia: as also the Balouches and Augans, and other mountineers, of whom also the greatest part pay him but a small matter, and even care but very little for him: witness the affront they did him, when they stopp'd his whole army by cutting off the water, which they kept back within the mountains, when he passed from Atek on the river Indus to Caboul, to lay siege to Kandahar; not suffering the water to run down into the fields where was the highway, 'till they had receiv'd presents, although they ask'd them by way of alms. Such are also the Patans, a Mahumetan people, issued from the side of the river Ganges towards Bengale; who before the invasion of the Mogols in India, had taken their time to make themselves potent in many places, and chiefly at Dehli, and to render many Rajas thereabout their tributaries. These Patans are fierce and warlike, and even the meanest of them, though they be waiting men and porters, are still of a very high spirit, being often heard to say by way of swearing, "Let me never be King of Dehli, if it be not so:" a people that despise the Indians, Heathen, and Mogols, and mortally hate the last, still remembering

what they were formerly, before they were by them driven away from their large principalities, and constrained to retire hither and thither, far from Dehli, and Agra into the mountains, where now they are settled, and where some of them have made themselves petty Sovereigns, like Rajas, but of small strength.

Such an one also is the King of Visapour, who pays to the Mogol nothing, and is always in war him ; maintaining himself in his country, partly by his own forces, partly because he is very remote from Agra and Dehli, the ordinary places of residence of the Great Mogol ; partly also, because his capital city of Visapour is strong, and of difficult access to an army, by reason of the ill waters, and the want of forage on the way ; and partly because many Rajas join with him for their common defence, as did the famous Seva-Gi, who, not long since, came pillaging and burning that rich sea-port, Suratte, and who sometimes will pay little or no tribute.

Such is likewise that potent and rich King of Golkonda, who underhand gives money to the King of Visapour, and hath always an army ready on the frontiers for his own defence, and for the assistance of Visapour, in case he should find him too much pressed.

Of the like sort are more than an hundred Rajas, or considerable Heathen Sovereigns, dispersed through the whole empire, some near to, others remote from Agra and Dehli : amongst whom there are about fifteen or sixteen that are very rich and puissant ; such as is Rana (who formerly was, as 'twere, emperor of the Rajas ; and who is said to be of the progeny of King

Porus;) Jesseigne and Jessomseigne, which are so great and powerful, that if they three alone should combine, they would hold him tack; each of them being able, in a very short time, to raise and bring into the field twenty five thousand horse, better troops than the Mogols. These cavaliers are call'd *Ragipouts*, or the children of Rajas. They are men, who, as I have elsewhere said, carry swords from father to son, and to whom the Rajas allot land, on condition to be always ready to appear on horseback, when the Raja commands. They can endure much hardship, and they want nothing to make them good soldiers, but good order and discipline.

The third thing to be noted is, that the Mogol is a Mahumetan, not of the sect called *Chias*, who follow Aly and his off-spring, (such as the Persians are, and consequently the greatest part of his Court;) but of that which follows Osman, and thence are call'd *Osmanlys*, such as the Turks are. Besides, that he is a stranger, being of the race of Tamerlan, who was the head of those Mogols, that about the year 1401, over-ran India, where they made themselves masters: so that he is in a country, almost all hostile; and that the more, because not only for one Mogol, but in general, for one Mahumetan, there are hundreds of Gentiles or Heathen; which obligeth him, constantly to entertain (for his defence amongst so many domestic and potent enemies, and against the Persians and Usbecks, his neighbours) very great armies, whether in time of peace or war, as well about his person, as in the field; as well of the people of the country, (Rajas and

Patans,) as chiefly Mogolians, or at least esteemed such, because they are white, and Mahumetans; which sufficeth at present; his Court being no more now as it was at first, consisting altogether of true Mogols; but a mixture of all sorts of strangers, Usbecks, Persians, Arabians, and Turks, or their children; but with this distinction, that the children of the third or fourth generation, and that have taken the brown colour, and the soft humor of the country, are not so much esteem'd as the new comers; being also seldom rais'd to publick offices, but counting themselves happy, if they may serve as simple horsemen or foot.

Of these armies I am now going to give you some discription, that thereby knowing the great expences, which the Grand Mogol is oblig'd to be at, you may the better judge of his true riches; let us first take a view of the field militia, he is necessitated to maintain.

The chief thereof are the Rajas, such as Jesseigne, Jessomseigne, and many others to whom he allows very great pensions, to have them always ready with a certain number of *Ragipouts*, esteeming them like *Omrahs*, that is, like other strangers, and Mahumetan Lords: both in the army, that is always about his person, and in those also, that are in the field. These Rajas are generally oblig'd to the same things, that the *Omrahs* are, even to the point of keeping guard; yet with this distinction, that they keep not the guard within the fortress, as those, but without, under their tents; they not liking to be shut up twenty four hours in a fortress, nor so much as ever to go thither, but well attended with men, resolute to be cut in

pieces for their service ; as hath appear'd, when they have been ill dealt withal.

The Mogol is oblig'd to keep these *Rajas* in his service for sundry reasons.

The first, because the militia of *Rajas* is very good (as was said above) and because there are *Rajas*, (as was intimated also) one of whom can bring into the field above 25000 men.

The second, the better to bridle the other *Rajas*, and to reduce them to reason when they cantonize, or when they refuse to pay tribute, or when out of fear or other cause, they will not go out of their country to the army, when the Mogol requireth it.

The third, the better to nourish jealousies and keenness amongst them, by favouring and caressing the one more than the other, which is done to that degree, that they proceed to fight with one another very frequently.

The fourth, to employ them against the *Patans*, or against his *Omrahs* and Governors, in case any of them should rise.

The fifth, to employ them against the King of Golkonda, when he refuseth to pay his tribute, or when he will defend the King of Visapour, or some *Rajas* his neighbours, which the Mogol hath a mind to rifle, or to make his tributaries ; the Mogol in those cases not daring to trust his *Omrahs* overmuch, who most are Persians, and not of the same religion with him, but *Chias*, like the Kings of Persia and Golkonda.

The sixth, and the most considerable of all, is, to employ them against the Persians upon occasion ; not daring then also to confide in his *Omrahs*, who, for the

greatest part, as was just now said, are Persians, and consequently have no stomach to fight against their natural King; and the less, because they believe him to be their *Imam*, their *Caliph* or High Priest, descended from Aly, and against whom therefore they believe they cannot make war without a crime, or a great sin.

The Mogol is farther oblig'd to entertain some Patans for the same, or somewhat like reasons, that he doth the Rajas.

At last he must entertain that stranger militia of the Mogols, that we have taken notice of: and as this is the main strength of his State, and which obliges him to incredible charges, methinks it will not be amiss to describe to you, of what nature it is, though I should be somewhat long in doing it.

Let us therefore consider, if you please, this stranger militia, both cavalry and infantry, as divided into two; the one, being always near the Mogol's person; the other dispersed up and down in the several provinces. And in the cavalry that is about his person, let us first take notice of the *Omraks*; then of the *Mansabdars*; next, of the *Rousindars*; last of all, the simple horsemen. From thence let us proceed to the infantry, in which we shall consider the musquetiers, and all those men on foot that attend the ordnance, where something will occur to be said of their artillery.

It is not to be thought, that the *Omraks* or Lords of the Mogol's Court are sons of great families, as in France; all the lands of that empire being the Mogol's propriety, it follows, that there are neither Dutchies, nor Marquisates nor any family

rich in land, and subsisting of its own income and patrimony. And often enough they are not so much as *Omrah's* sons, because the King being heir of all their estates, it is consequent that the houses cannot subsist long in their greatness; on the contrary, they often fall, and that on a sudden, inso-much that the sons, or at least the grandsons of a potent *Omrah* are frequently, after the death of their father, reduced, in a manner, to beggary, and oblig'd to list themselves under some *Omrahs* for simple horse-men. 'Tis true, that ordinarily the Mogol leaves some small pension to the widow, and often also to the children; or, if the father liveth too long, he may by particular favour advance them sooner, especially if they be proper men, white of face, having as yet not too much of the Indian complexion and temper, and so passing yet for true Mogols: though this advancement by favour do always proceed in a slow pace; it being almost a general custom, that a man must pass from small pays and small places, to great ones. These *Omrahs* then are commonly but adventurers and strangers of all sorts of nations, such as I have said; which draw one another to this Court; men of a mean descent, some of them slaves; most of them without instruction, which the Mogol thus raiseth to dignities as he thinks good, and degrades them again, as he pleaseth.

Amongst these *Omrahs* some are *Hazary*, others *Dou Hazary*, others *Penge*, *Hecht*, and *Deh Hazary*, and even (such was the King's eldest son) *Dovasdeh Hazary*, that is to say, Lord of a thousand horse, of two thousand, five thousand, seven, ten, and twelve

thousand their pay being less or more in proportion to the number of horses ; I say, of horses, because they are not paid in respect of the horsemen, but of the horse ; the Omralis having power to entertain horsemen of two horses a man, to be the better able to serve in the hot countries, where 'tis a common saying, that "the horseman that hath but one horse, is more than half a footman." Yet we must not think, that they are oblig'd to entertain, or that the King attentively pays so many horse, as these great names of *Devazdeh* or *Hecht Hazary* do impart, that is, 12000, or 8000 horse. These are specious names, to amuse and attract strangers ; the King determines the number of horses in actual service, which they are bound to entertain, pays them according to this number ; and besides that, he pays them a certain number which they are not bound to entertain ; and this is that which ordinarily makes the principal part of their pensions ; not to speak of what they finger out of the pay of every horseman, and of the number of the horses ; which certainly amounts to very considerable pensions ; especially if they can obtain good *Jah-ghirs*, that is, good lands for their pension. For I saw, that the Lord, under whom I was, that was a *Penge-hazary*, or one of five thousand horse, and who was only obliged to entertain five hundred in effect, had, after all his cavalry was paid, remaining for his pension near five thousand crowns a month ; though he was *Nagdy*, that is, paid in money drawn out of the Treasury, as all those are, that have not lands. Yet notwithstanding all these great pensions, I see none but very few that are rich, but many that are uneasie and indebted :

not that they are ruin'd by keeping too plentiful tables, as elsewhere great Lords frequently are; but that which exhausteth them, are the great presents which they are oblig'd to make to the King at certain festivals of the year, every one after the rate of his pay; next, the vast expences they must be at for entertaining their wives, servants, camels, and many horses, of great value, which they keep in their particular stables.

The number of the Omrahs, as well of those, that are in the field in the provinces and armies, as of those that are at the Court, is very great. I never could precisely learn it; nor is it determin'd: but I have never seen less of them at Court, than twenty five or thirty, that are thus pensionaries according to a greater or lesser number of horses to be entertain'd by them, from 12000 downward to 1000. These are the Omrahs, that arrive to the governments and principal offices of the Court and armies; that are, as they speak the pillars of the empire, and that keep up the splendor of the Court; never going abroad, but richly deck'd, sometimes riding on elephants, sometimes on horseback, sometimes carried in a *Palek*, or chair, commonly attended by a good number of horsemen, to wit, of those that have the guard at that time, as also by many footman marching before, and on his sides, to make way, to drive away the flies, to take off the dust with peacocks tails, to carry water for drink, and sometimes books of accompts, or other papers.

All those that are at Court, are oblig'd, under a considerable penalty, to come twice every day to

salute the King in the assembly, once about ten or eleven a clock in the morning, when he renders Justice ; and second time, about six hours at night. They are also oblig'd by turns to keep the guard in the castle once a week, during twenty four hours. Thither they carry at that time their beds, tapisseries and other moveables, the King furnishing them with nothing but provisions of meat and drink, which they receive with great reverence, making a treble obeisance, with their face turn'd to his apartment, their hands down to the ground, and then lifted up upon their heads. Besides, they are oblig'd on horseback to follow the King whithersoever he marcheth in any weather, rainy or dusty, whether he be carried in his chair, or on an elephant, or a field-throne, which last is done by eight men carrying him on their shoulders, eight others marching on his side, to relieve the others ; himself being in all marches well cover'd from the inconveniencies of the weather, whether he go to war, or to hunt, or to exercise his soldiery. And this attendance those Omrahs are to give, except some of them be exempted by the Mogol, because of their peculiar offices, or upon the account of sickness or old age, or to avoid embarasment, as commonly 'tis practised, when he goeth only to some neighbouring town to hunt, or to some house of pleasure, or to the Mosque, there being then seldom any about him but those that keep the guard that day.

Mansebdars are cavaliers of *Manseb*, which is particular and honourable pay ; not so great indeed as that of the Omrahs, but much greater than that of the others ; they being esteemed as little Omrahs, and

of the rank of those, that are raised to that dignity.

These acknowledge also none for their head but the King, and they are generally obliged to whatever we have said the Omrahs are. In a word, they would be true Omrahs, if they had, as divers heretofore have had, some horsemen under them; whereas they have ordinarily but two, four, or six horses, having the King's mark, and their pay goes no higher than from 200, to 600 or 700 Roupies a month. Their number also is not fixed, but much exceeds that of the Omrahs, there being of them at the Court always two or three hundred, besides those that are in the provinces and armies.

Rouxindars are also a sort of cavaliers, but such as have their pay by the day, (as the word it self imports) which yet sometimes is greater than that of many *Mansebdars*, but not so honourable; but then they are not bound, as the *Mansebdars*, to take at a set price (which sometimes is not too reasonable) of those tapisseries and other household-stuff, that hath serv'd for the King's Palace. Their number is very great; they enter into the meaner offices, many of them being clerks, under-clerks, signet-men, and the like.

Simple cavaliers, are those, that are under the Omrahs; amongst whom the most considerable, and having most pay, are those that have two horses marked on the leg with the mark of their Omrahs. Their pay is not absolutely fixed, but depends chiefly from the generosity of the Omrahs, who may favour whom he pleaseth. Yet the Mogol's intention is, that the

pay of a simple cavalier or horseman be no less than twenty five Roupies, or thereabout a month, stating his account with Omrahs upon that foot.

The pay of the foot is the least ; and their musquetiers are pitiful men, unless they discharge when their musquet leans on that small wooden fork hanging to it ; yet even then they are afraid of fingeing their great beards, and of burning their eyes, but most of all, leat some *Dgen* or evil Spirit burst their musquet. Some of these have 20 Roupies a month, some 15, some 10. But yet there are some gunners that have great pay, especially those of the *Franguis* or Christians, as Portugueses, English, Dutch, Germans, French, that retire thither from Goa, flying from English and Dutch Companies. Heretofore when the Mogols did not yet know how to manage artillery, their pay was very great. And there are yet some of that time, who have 200 Roupies a month ; but now they will receive none for more that thirty two,

Their artillery is of two sorts ; the one is the great and heavy artillery, the other the light. As for the former, I remember, that when the King after his sickness went with his whole army abroad into the country diverting himself every day in hunting, sometimes of cranes, sometimes of the gray oxen, (a kind of elks) sometimes of gazels, leopards and lions, and making his progress towards Lahor and Kachmire (that little Paradise of India) there to pass the summer, the army had seventy pieces of cannon, most of then cast, not counting the two or three hundred camels, carrying

each a small field-piece of the bigness of a good double musquet, fastned to those animals. The other light artillery is very brave and well order'd, consisting of fifty or sixty small field-pieces all of brass, each mounted on a little chariot, very fine and well painted, with a small coffer before and behind for the powder, drawn by two very fair horses, driven by a coachman like a *Caleche*, adorned with a number of small red streamers, each having a third horses led by the chariot for relief.

The great artillery could not always follow the King, who often left the highway, and turn'd sometimes to right, sometimes to the left hand, crossing the fields to find the true places for game, and to follow the course of the rivers. That therefore was to keep the highway to go the more easily, and to avoid the embarrasments, which it would have met with in the ill passages, especially in those boat-bridges made to pass rivers. The light artillery is inseparable from the person of the King, it marcheth away in the morning, when the King comes out of his tent ; and whereas he commonly goes a little aside into the places for game, this artillery passeth on straight with all possible speed, to be in time at the rendezvous, and there to appear before the King's tent, which is there made ready the day before ; as are also the tents of the great *Onrahs* : and this whole artillery giveth a volley just when the King enters into his tents, thereby to give notice to the army of his arrival.

The militia of the field is nor different from that which is about the King : there are everywhere *Onirahs*, *Mansebdars*, *Rousinders*, simple horsemen, and foot

and artillery where-ever any war is made. The difference is only in the number, which is much greater in the field-army, than in the other. For that army alone, which the Mogol is constrain'd perpetually to maintain in Decan, to bridle the potent King of Golkonda, and to make war upon the King of Visapour, and upon all the Raja's that join with him, must consist at least of twenty or twenty five thousand horse, sometimes of thirty.

The kingdom of Kaboul, for 'tis ordinary guard against the Persians, Augans, Baluches, and I know not how many mounteniers, requireth at least fifteen thousand. The kingdom of Kachmire, more than four thousand ; and the kingdom of Bengale, much more ; not counting those that are employ'd in the war, which must almost always be maintain'd on that side ; nor those which the Governors of the several provinces do need for their defence, according to the particular extent and situation of their governments, which maketh an incredible number.

Not to mention the infantry, (which is inconsiderable) I am apt to believe with many others, well inform'd of these matters ; that the number of the horse in actual service about the King's person, comprehending the cavalry of the Raja's and Patans, amounteth to thirty five or forty thousand ; and that this number, joined to those that is abroad in the field, may make two hundred thousand, and better.

I say, that the infantry is inconsiderable ; for I can hardly believe, that in the army which is about the King, comprising the musquetiers, and all the gunners and their mates, and whatever serves in this

artillery, can amount to much more than fifteen thousand ; whence you may make a near guess, what the number of the foot must be in the field. So that I know not whence to take that prodigious number of foot, which some do reckon in the armies of the Great Mogol, unless it be, that with this true soldiery they confound all the serving men and victuallers that follow the army ; for in that sense I should easily believe, that they had reason to reckon two or three hundred thousand men in that army alone which is with the King, and sometimes more ; especially when 'tis certain, that he is to be long absent from the capital city : which will not seem so strange to him that considers the multitude and confusion of tents, kitchens, baggage, women, elephants, camels, oxen, horses, waiting-men, porters foragers, victuallers, merchants of all sorts, that must follow the army ; not to him, that knows the state and particular government of that country, wherein the King is the sole proprietor of all the lands of the kingdom ; whence it necessarily follows, that a whole metropolitan city, such as Dehly and Agra liveth of almost nothing but of the soldiery, and consequently oblig'd to follow the King when he taketh the field ; those towns being nothing less than Paris, but indeed no otherwise govern'd than a camp of armies a little better and more conveniently lodg'd than in the open field.

Besides all these things, you may also consider, if you please, that generally all this militia, which I have been representing to you, from the greatest Omrah, to the meanest soldier, is indispensibly paid every two

months, the King's pay being its sole refuge and relief ; nor can its pay be deferred there, as 'tis sometimes with us ; where, when there are pressing occasions of the State, a gentleman, an officer, and even a simple cavalier, can stay awhile, and maintain himself of his own stock, rents, and the incomes of his land. But in the Mogol's country, all must be paid at the time prefix'd, or all disbands and starves, after they have sold that little they have ; as I saw in this last war, that many were going to do, if it had not soon ceased. And this the more, because that in all this militia, there is almost no soldier that hath not wife and children, servants and slaves, that look for this pay, and have no other hope of relief. And hence it is, that many wonder, considering the huge number of persons living of pay (which amounts to millions) whence such vast revenues can be had for such excessive charges : although this need not to be so much wondred at, considering the riches of the empire, the peculiar government of the State, and the said universal propriety of the Sovereign.

You may add to all this, that the Grand Mogol keeps nigh him at Dehly and Agra, and thereabout, two or three thousand brave horses, to be always ready upon occasion ; as also eight or nine hundred elephants, and a vast number of mules, horses, and porters, to carry all the great tents and their cabinets, to carry his wives, kitchens, household-stuff, Ganges-water, and all the other necessaries for the field, which he hath always about him as if he were at home ; things not absolutely necessary in our kingdoms.

To this may be added those incredible expences

upon the seraglio, more indispensable than will be easily believ'd; that vast store of fine linnen, cloth of gold embroideries, silk, musk, amber, pearls, sweet essences, &c. consumed there.

All these charges being put together, and compar'd with the revenues the Mogol may be thought to have, it will be easie to judge, whether he be indeed so very rich, as he is made to be. As for me, I very well know, that it cannot be denied, that he hath very great revenues; I believe, he hath more alone than the Grand Seignior, and the King of Persia, both together: but then, to believe all those extravagant stories made of the vastness of his revenues, is a thing I could never do: and if I should believe the best part of them yet should I not believe him in effect and truly so rich as the world rings of him; unless a man would say that a treasurer, who receiveth great sums of money from one hand at the same time when he is oblig'd to disburse them to another, were therefore truly rich. For my part, I should count that King rich indeed, who, without oppressing and impoverishing his people too much, should have a revenue sufficient to keep a great and gallant Court, (after the manner of that of ours, or otherwise) and a militia sufficient both to guard his kingdom, and to make an important war for divers years against his neighbours; as also to shew liberality, to build some Royal edifices, and to make those other expences which Kings are wont to make according to their particular inclinations; and who, besides all this, should be able to put up in his treasury, for a reserve, sums big enough to undertake and maintain a good war for some years. Now I am

apt enough to believe, that the Great Mogol enjoys very near these advantages, but I cannot perswade my self, that he hath them in that excess, as is thought and pretended. . Those vast and inevitable expences, that I have taken notice of, will certainly incline you to my opinion without any other considerations ; but you will, doubtless, be altogether of my mind, when I shall have represented to you these two things, which I am very well informed of.

The one is, that the Great Mogol, now reigning, about the end of this last revolution, though the kingdom was everywhere in peace (except in Bengale, where Sultan-Sujah yet held out) was much perplexed where to find means for the subsistence of his armies, though they were not so well paid as at other times, and the war lasted no longer than five years, or thereabout, and though also he had laid hold of a good part of the treasury of his father Chah-Jehan.

The other is, that all this treasure of Chah-Jehan, who was very frugal, and had reigned above forty years without considerable wars, never mounted to six *Kourours* of Roupies. A Roupy is about twenty nine pence. An hundred thousand of them make a *Leque*, and an hundred *Leques* make one *Kourour*. [So that the six *Kourours* would make about seven millions and an half English money.] 'Tis true, I do not comprehend in this great treasure that great abundance of goldsmiths work, so variously wrought in gold and silver ; nor that vast store of precious stones and pearls of a very high value. I doubt, whether there be any King in the world that hath more. The Throne alone, cover'd with them, is valu'd at least

~~up~~ *three Kourours*, if I remember aright : but then, it is to be consider'd also, that they are the spoils of those ancient Princes, the Patans and Rajas, gather'd and piled up from immemorial times, and still increasing from one King to another, by the presents which the Omrahs are obliged yearly at certain festival-days to make him ; and which are 'esteemed to be the jewels of the Crown, which it would be criminal to touch, and upon which a King of Mogol in case of necessity would find it very hard to procure the least sum.

But before I conclude, I shall take notice, whence it may proceed, that though this empire of Mogol be thus an abyss of gold and silver, (as hath been said,) yet notwithstanding there appears no more of it among the people, than elsewhere ; yea, rather that the people is there less monied than in other places.

The first reason is, that much of it is consumed in melting over and over all those nose and ear-rings, chains, and finger-rings, bracelets of hands and feet which the women wear, but chiefly in that incredible quantity of manufactures, wherein so much is spent, which is lost, as in all those embroideries, silk-stuffs, enterwoven with gold and silver, cloth, scarf, turbants, &c. of the same. For generally all that militia loveth to be guided from the Omrahs to the meanest soldiers with their wives and children, though they should starve at home.

The second, that all the lands of the kingdom being the Kings propriety, they are given either as benefices, which they call *Jah-ghir*, or, as in Turkey, *Timars*, to men of the militia for their pay or pension (as the

word *Jah-ghir* imports :) or else they are given to the Governours for their pension, and the entertainment of their troops, on condition that of the surplus of those land-revenues they give yearly a certain sum to the King, as farmers ; or lastly, the King reserveth them for himself as a particular domaine of his house, which never or very seldom are given as *Jah-ghirs*, and upon which he keeps farmers, who also must give him a yearly sum ; which is to say, that the timariots, Governours and farmers have an absolute authority over the country-men, and even a very great one over the tradesmen and merchants of the towns, boroughs, and villages, depending from them : so that in those parts there are neither great Lords nor Parliaments, nor Presidial Courts, as amongst us, to keep these people in awe : nor *Kadis* or Judges, powerful enough to hinder and repress their violence ; nor in a word, any person, to whom a country-man, trades-man, or merchant, can make his complaints to, in cases of extortion and tyranny, often practised upon them, by the soldiery and Governors, who every where do impunely abuse the Authority Royal, which they have in hand, unless it be perhaps a little in those places that are near to capital cities, as Dehli and Agra, and in great towns, and considerable seaports of the provinces, whence they know that the complaints can be more easily conveyed to the Court. Whence it is, that all and every one stand in continual fear of these people, especially of the Governors more than any slave doth of his master : that ordinarily they affect to appear poor and money-less, very mean in their apparel, lodging, household-stuff, and yet

more in meat and drink ; that often they apprehend even to meddle with trade, lest they should be thought rich, and so fall into the danger of being ruined : so that at last they find no other remedy to secure their wealth, than to hide and dig their money deep under ground, thus getting out of the ordinary commerce of men, and so dying, neither the King nor the State having any benefit by it. Which is a thing not only happens among the peasants and artizans, but (which is far more considerable) amongst all sorts of merchants, whether Mahumetans or Heathens, except some that are in the Kings, or some *Omrahs* pay, or that have some particular patron and support in power : but principally among the Heathen, which are almost the only masters of the trade and money, infatuated with the belief, that the gold and silver, which they hide in their life-time, shall serve them after death. And this, in my opinion, is the true reason, why there appears so little money in trade among the people.

But thence ariseth a question very considerable, viz. whether it were not more expedient, not only for the subjects, but for the State it self, and for the Sovereign, not to have the Prince such a proprietor of the lands of the kingdom, as to take away the *meum* and *tuum* amongst private persons ; as 'tis with us ; for my part, after a strict comparing the state of our kingdoms, where that *meum* and *tuum* holds, with that of those other kingdoms, where it is not, I am thoroughly perswaded, that it is much better and more beneficial for the Sovereign himself, to have it so as 'tis in our parts. Because

that in those parts where 'tis otherwise, the gold and silver is lost; as I was just now observing: there is almost no person secure from the violences of those timariors, Governours, and farmers: the Kings, how well soever they be disposed toward their people, are never almost in a good condition (as I lately noted) to get Justice administred to them, and to hinder tyrannies; especially in those great dominions, and in the provinces remote from the capital towns; which yet ought to be, as doubtless it is, one of the chief employments and considerations of a King. Besides, this tyranny often grows to that excess, that it takes away what is necessary to the life of a peasant or tradesman, who is straved for hunger and misery; who gets no children, or if he does, sees them die young for want of food; or that abandons his land, and turns some cavalier's man, or flies whither he may to his neighbours, in hopes of finding a better condition. In a word, the land is not tilled but almost by force, consequently very ill, and much of it is quite spoiled and ruined, there being none to be found, that can or will be at the charge of entertaining the ditches and channels for the course of waters to be convey'd to necessary places; nor any body that care to build houses, or to repair those that are ruinous; the peasant reasoning thus with himself: "why should I toil so much for a Tyrant that may come to morrow to take all away from me, or at least all the best of what I have, and not leave, if the fancy taketh him, so much as to sustain my life even very poorly?" And the timariot, the Governor and the farmer, will reason thus with himself: "why should I bestow money, and

take pains of bettering or maintining this land, since I must every hour expect to have it taken, from me, or exchanged for another? I labour neither for my self, nor for my children; and that place which I have this year, I may, perhaps, have no more the next. Let us draw from it what we can, whilst we possess it, though the peasant should break or starve, though the land should become a desart, when I am gone!"

And for this very reason it is, that we see those vast estates in Asia go so wretchedly and palpably to ruine. Thence it is, that throughout those parts we see almost no other towns but made up of earth and dirt; nothing but ruin'd and deserted towns and villages, or such as are going to ruine. Even thence it is, that we see (for example) those Mesopotamia's, Anatolia's, Palestian's, those admirable plains of Antioch, and so many other lands, anciently so well tilled, so fertile, and so well peopled, at the present half deserted, untill'd and bandon'd, or become pestilent and uninhabitable bogs. Thence it is also, that of those incomparable lands of Egypt it is observ'd that within less than fourscore years, more than the tenth part of it is lost, no people being to be found, that will expend what is necessary to maintain all the channels, and to restrain the river Nile from violently overflowing on one hand, and so drowning too much the low lands, or from covering them with sand, which cannot be remov'd from thence but with great pains and charges. From the same root it comes, that arts are languishing in those countries, or at least flourish much less than else they would do, or do with us. For what heart and spirit can an

artizan have to study well, and to apply his mind to his work, when he sees, that among the people, which is for the most part beggarly, or will appear so, there is none that considers the goodness and neatness of his work, every body looking for what is cheap, and that the grandees pay them but very ill, and when they please. The poor tradesman often thinking himself happy, that he can get clear from them without the *Korrah*, which is that terrible whip that hangs nigh the gate of the Omrahs. Further, when he seeth that there is no help at all ever to come to any thing, as to buy an Office, or some land for himself and children, and that even he dares not appear to have a penny in cash, or to wear good cloaths, or to eat a good meal, for fear he should be thought rich. And indeed the beauty and exactness of Arts had been quite lost in those parts long ago, if it were not that the Kings and grandees there did give wages to certain workmen, that work in their houses, and their teach their children, and endeavour to make themselves able in order to be a little more consider'd, and to escape the *Korrah*; and if also it were not, that those and rich merchants of towns, who are protected by good and powerful patrons, pay'd those workmen a little better: I say, a little better; for, what fine stuffs soever we see come from those countries, we must not imagine, that the workman is there in any honour, or comes to any thing; 'tis nothing but meer necessity, or the cudgel, that makes him work, he never grows rich; it is no small matter, when he hath wherewith to live, and to cloath himself narrowly. If there be any money to gain of the work, that is not for him, but for those

great merchants of towns, I was just now speaking of; and even these themselves find it often difficult enough to maintain themselves, and to prevent extortion.

'Tis from the same cause also, that a gross and profound ignorance reigns in those States. For, how is it possible, there should be Academies and Colleges well founded, where are such founders to be met with? And if there were any, whence were the scholars to be had? Where are those that have means sufficient to maintain their children in Colleges? And if there were, who would appear to be so rich? And if they would, where are those benefices, preferments, and dignities, that require knowledge and abilities, and that may animate young men to study?

Thence it is likewise, that traffick languish in all that country, in comparison of ours. For how many are there, that care to take pains, to run up and down, to write much, and to run danger for another, for a governor, that shall extort, if he be not in league with some considerable sword-man, whose slave he in a manner is, and that makes his own conditions with him?

It is not there, that the Kings find for their service, Princes, Lords, gentlemen, sons of rich and good families, officers, citizens, merchants, and even tradesmen, well born, well educated, and well instructed; men of courage, that have a true affection and respect for their King, that often live a great while at the Court, and in the army, at their own expences, entertaining themselves with good hopes, and content with the favourable aspect of the Prince; and who, upon

occasion, fight manfully, covetous to uphold the honour of their ancestors and families. Those Kings, I say, never see about them, but men of nothing, slaves, ignorants, brutes, and such courtizans as are raised from the dust to dignities; and that for want of good education and instruction, almost always retain some-what of their offspring, of the temper of beggars, enriched, proud, unsufferable, heartless, insensible of honour, disingenuous, and void of affection and regard for the honour of their King and country. Here it is, where those Kings must ruine all, to find means to defray all those prodigious charges, which they cannot avoid for entertaining their great Court, which hath no other source to subsist but their coffers and treasure, and for maintaining constantly the vast number of soldiers, necessary for them to keep the people in subjection, to prevent their running away, to make them work, and to get what is exacted from them, they being so many desperado's, for being perpetually under hatches, and for labouring only for others.

Thence it is also, that in an important war that may happen (which may be almost at all times) they must almost of necessity sell the government for ready mony, and immense sums, whence chiefly that ruine and desolation comes to pass which we see. For the Governor, which is the buyer, must not be re-imbursed of all those great sums of mony, which he hath taken up, perhaps the third or fourth part, at high interest? Must not a Governor also, whether he have bought the government or not, find means as well as a timariot and a farmer, to

make every year great presents to a Visir, an eunuch, a lady of the seraglio, and to those other persons that support him at Court? Must he not pay to the King his usual tributes, and withal enrich himself, that wretched slave, half famish'd, and deeply indebted when he first appear'd, without goods, lands, and revenues of his house, such as they all are. Do not they ruine all, and lay all waste? I mean those; that in the provinces are like so many small Tyrants with a boundless and unmeasur'd authority, their being no body there, as hath been already said, that can restrain them, or to whom a subject can have refuge, or save himself from their tyranny, and to obtain Justice?

'Tis true, that in the empire of the Mogol, the *Vakea-nevis*, that is, those persents, whom he sends into the provinces to write to him whatever passeth there, do a little keep the officers in awe, provided they do not collude together (as it almost always happens) to devour all; as also that the governments are not there so often sold, nor so openly as in Turkey; I say, not so openly (for those great presents, they are from time to time obliged to make, are almost equivalent to sales) and that the Governors ordinarily remain longer in their governments; which maketh them not so hungry, so beggarly, and so deep in debt, as those new comers, and that consequently they do not always tyrannize over the people with so much cruelty; even apprehending, lest they should run away to the Raja's; which yet falls out very often.

'Tis also true, that in Persia the governments are

not so frequently nor so publickly sold as in Turkey ; the sons of the Governors also succeeding often enough to their fathers ; which is also the cause, that the people there is often not so ill treated as in Turkey, and occasions withal, that there is more politeness, and that even some there are that addict themselves to study. But all that is really but a slight matter ; those three States of Turkey, Persia and Indostan, forasmuch as they have all three taken away the *meum* and *tuum* as to land, and propriety of possessions (which is the foundation of whatever is good and regular in the world) cannot but very near resemble one another : they have the same defect, they must at last, sooner or later, needs fall into the same inconveniencies, which are the necessary consequences of it, viz. tyranny, ruine, and desolation.

Far be it therefore, that our Monarchs of Europe should thus be proprietors of all the lands which their subjects possess. Their kingdoms would be very far from being so well cultivated and peopled, so built, so rich, so polite and flourishing as we see them. Our Kings are otherwise rich and powerful ; and we must avow that we are much better and more royally served. There would be Kings of desarts and solitudes, of beggars and barbarians, such as those are whom I have been representing ; who, because they will have all, at last lose all ; and who, because they will make themselves too rich, at length find themselves without riches, or, at last, very far from that which they covet after, out of their blind ambition and passion, of being more absolute than the laws of God and Nature do permit. For, where would be those Princes, those

Prelates, those Nobles, those rich citizens, and great merchants, and those famous artizens, those towns of Paris, Lyons, Thoulouse, Rouen, London, and so many others? Where would be infinite number of boroughs and villages, all those fair country-houses and fields, and hillocks, tilled and maintained with so much industry, care and labour? and where would consequently be all those vast revenues drawn thence, which at last enrich the subjects and the Sovereign both? We should find the great cities, and the great boroughs rendred inhabitable, because of the ill air, and to fall to ruine without any bodies taking care of repairing them; the hillocks abandoned, and the fields overspread with the bushes, or filled with pestilential marishes, as hath been already intimated.

A word to our dear and experienc'd travellers: they would not find those conveniencies of travelling; they would be obliged to carry all things with them, like the Bohemians; and all those good inns, for example, that are found between Paris and Lyons, would be like ten or twelve wretched caravans-*serraks*, that is, great barns, raised and paved, such as our *pont-neuf* is, where hundreds of men are found pel-mel together with their horses, mules and camels, where one is stifled with heat in summer, and starved of cold in winter, if it were not for the breathing of those animals, that warm the place a little.

But it will be said, we see some States, where the *meum* and *tuum* is not, (as for example, that of the Grand Seignior, which we know better than any going so far as the Indies) that do not only subsist, but are also very powerful, and encrease daily.

'Tis true, that that State of the Gr. Seignior, of such a prodigious extent as it is, having so vast a quantity of lands, the soil of which is so excellent, that cannot be destroyed but very difficultly, and in a long time, is yet rich and populous; but it is certain also, that if it were cultivated and peopled proportionably to ours, (which it would be, if there were propriety among the subjects throughout) it would be a quite different thing; it would have people enough to raise such prodigious armies as in old times, and rich enough to maintain them. We have travelled through almost all the parts of it; we have seen how strangely it is ruined and unpeopled; and how in the capital city there now need three whole months to raise five or six thousand men. We know also, what it would have come to ere this, if it had not been for the great number of Christian slaves that are brought into it from all parts. And no doubt but that, if the same government were continued there for a number of years, that State would destroy it self, and at last, fall it by its own weakness, as it seems that already it is hardly maintained but only by that means, I mean, by the frequent change of Governors; there being not one Governor, nor any one man in the whole empire, that hath a penny to enable him to maintain the least things, or that can almost find any men, if he had money. A strange manner to make States to subsist! There would need no more for making an end of the seditions, than a Brama of Pegu, who killed the half of the kingdom with hunger, and turned it into forests, hindring for some years the lands from being tilled, though yet he

hath not succeeded in his design, and the State have afterwards been divided, and that even lately Ava, the capital town, was upon the point of being taken by an handful of China fugitives. Meán time we must confess, that we are not like to see in our days that total ruine and destruction of this empire we are speaking of, (if so be we see not something worse) because it hath neighbours, that are so far from being able to undertake any thing against him, that they are not so much as in a condition to resist him, unless it be by those succours of strangers, which the remoteness and jealousie would make slow, small and suspect.

But it might be yet further objected, that it appears not, why such States as these might not have good laws, and why the people in the provinces might not be enabled to come and make their complaints to a Grand Visir, or to the King himself. 'Tis true, that they are not altogether destitute of good laws, and that, if those which are amongst them were observed, there would be as good living there as in any part of the world. But what are those laws good for, if they be not observed, and if there be no means to make them to be executed ? Is it not the Grand Visir, or the King that appoints for the people such beggarly Tyrants, and that hath no others to set over them ? Is it not he that sells those governments ? Hath a poor peasant or tradesman means to make great journies, and to come and seek for Justice in the capital city, remote, perhaps, 150 or 200 leagues from the place of his abode ? Will not the Governor cause him to be made away in

his journey (as it hath often hapned) or catch him sooner or later? And will he not provide his friends at Court, to support him there, and to represent things quite otherwise than they are? In a word, this Governor, hungry as well as the timariots and farmers (that are all men for drawing oyl out of sand, as the Persian speaks, and for ruining a world, with their heap of women-harpies, children and slaves) this Governor, I say, is he not the absolute master, the Superintendant of Justice, the Parliament, the Receiver, and all?

It may perhaps be added, that the lands, which our Kings hold in domaine, are no less well tilled and peopled, than other land. But there is a great difference between the having in propriety some lands here and there in a great kingdom (which changes not the constitution of the State and government) and the having them all in propriety, which would alter it altogether. And then in these parts have laws so rational, which our Kings are willing to be the first to observe, and according to which they will that their particular lands shall be governed as those of their subjects are, so as to give away, that actions of law may be laid against their own farmers and officers, so that a peasant or tradesman may have means to obtain Justice, and to find remedy against the unjust violence of those that would oppress him: whereas in those parts of Asia, I see almost not any refuge for those poor people; the cudgel and the hammer of the Governor being in a manner the only law that rules, and decides all controversies there.

Lastly, it may be said, that 'tis at least certain,

that in such States there is not such a multitude of long lasting suits of law, as in these parts, nor so many lawyers of all sorts, as amongst us. It is in my opinion, very true, that one cannot too much applaud that old Persian saying, *na-hac kouta betet-ez hac deraz*, that is, "short injustice is better than long Justice;" and that the length of law-suits is unsufferable in a State, and that it is the indispensable duty of the Sovereign, by all good means, to endeavour a remedy against them. And 'tis certain, that by taking away this *meum* and *tuum*, the root would be cut of an infinite number of law-processes, and especially of almost all those that are of importance, and long perplexed; consequently there would not need so great a number of Magistrates, which our Sovereigns do employ to administer Justice to their subjects, nor that swarm of men, which subsist only by that way. But 'tis also manifest, that the remedy would be an hundred times worse than the disease, considering those great inconveniences that would follow thereupon, and that in all probability the Magistrates would become such as those of the Asiatick States, who deserve not that name; for, in a word, our Kings have yet cause to glory upon the account of good Magistracy under them. In those parts, some merchants excepted, Justice is only among the meanest sort of people, that are poor, and of an unequal condition, who have not the means of corrupting the Judges, and to buy false witnesses, that are there in great numbers, and very cheap, and never punished. And this I have learn'd every where by the experience of many years, and by my solicitous enquiries made

among the people of the country, and our old merchants that are in those parts, as also of Ambassadors, Consuls and Interpreters ; whatever our common travellers may say, who, upon their having seen by chance, when they passed by, two or three porters, or other of the like gang, about a *Kady*, quickly dispatching one or other of the parties, and sometimes both, with some lashes under the sole of their feet, or with a *Maybale Baba*, some mild words, when there is no wool to sheer : who, I say, upon sight of this, come hither, and cry out, " O the good and short Justice ! O what honest Judges are those in respect of ours !" Not considering in the mean time, that if one of those wretches, that is in the wrong, had a couple of crowns to corrupt the *Kady*, or his clerks, and as much to buy two false witnesses, he might either win his process, or prolong it as long as he pleased.

In conclusion, to be short, I say, that the taking away this propriety of lands among private men, would be infallibly to introduce at the same time tyranny, slavery, injustice, beggary, barbarism, desolation, and to open a highway for the ruine and destruction of mankind, and even of Kings and States : and that on the contrary, this *meum* and *tuum*, accompanied with the hopes that every one shall keep, what he works and labours for, for himself and his children, as his own, is the main foundation of whatever is regular and good in the world : insomuch that whosoever shall cast his eyes upon the different countries and kingdoms, and taketh good notice of what follows upon this propriety of Sovereigns, or that of the people, will soon find the true source and chief cause of that great difference

we see in the several States and Empires of the world;
and avow, that this is in a manner that which changes
and diversifieth the face of the whole earth.

THE END OF THE SECOND TOME.

A
LETTER

TO

Monsieur de la MOTHE le VATER,

WRITTEN

AT DEHLI, JULY, 1, 1663.

CONTAINING

*The description of DEHLI and AGRA, and divers particulars
discovering the Court and Genius of the Mogols and Indians.*

SIR,

I KNOW that one of the first questions you are like to ask me, at my return in France, will be, whether Dehli and Agra are cities as fair and large, and as well peopled as Paris. Concerning its beauty, I shall tell you by way of preface, that I have sometimes wondr'd to hear our Europeans, that are here, despising the towns of the Indies, as not coming near ours, in respect of the edifices. Certainly they ought not to resemble them ; and if Paris, London, and Amsterdam, stood in the place where Dehli is, the greatest part of them must be thrown down, to build them after another manner. Our cities indeed have great beauties and embellishments, but they

are such that are proper to them, and accommodated to a cold climat. Dehli also may have its beauties peculiar to it, and sutable to a very hot climat: for you are to know, that the heat here obligeth all people, even the great Lords, and the King himself, to go without stockings, in a kind of slippers only, a fine and slight turbant on their heads, and the other garments accordingly; that there are months in the summer so excessively hot, that in the chambers one can hardly hold ones hands against a wall, nor ones head on a cushion: and that people are oblig'd for the space of more than sixth months to lie out covering, at the door of their chamber, as the rabble doth in the open streets, or as the merchants, and other people of some quality do, in some airy hall or garden, or upon some terrass well watered at night: thence you may judge, whether if there were such streets as that of St. Jacques, or St. Denis, with their houses shut and so many stories high, they would be habitable? And whether in the night, especially when the heats are without wind and stuffing, it would be possible to sleep there? And who is there (I pray) that would have a mind in summer, when he returns on horseback from the city half dead, and in a manner stifled of the heat and dust, and all in a sweat, (for so it is) to go climbing up an high pair of stairs, which often is narrow and dark, to a fourth or fifth story, and to abide in this hot and suffocating air? On such occasions they desire nothing, but to throw down into the stomach a pint of fresh water, or lemonade, to undress, to wash the face, hands and feet, to lie down in some cool and shady place at

along, having a servant or two to fan one by turns, with their great *Pankhas*, or fans. But, to leave this, we shall now endeavour to entertain you with the representation of Dehli as it is, that so you may judge, whether it be truly said, that it is a fair city.

It is now about forty years that Chah-Jehan, father of the Grand-Mogol Aureng-Zebe now reigning, to eternize his memory, caused to be built a town contiguous to old Dehli, which he called after his name Chah-Jehan-Abad, and by way of abbreviation Jean-Abad ; that is to say, a colony of Chah-Jehan, designing to make it the capital of the empire, instead of Agra, where he said, that the summer heats were too violent. This nearness hath occasioned, that the ruins of old Dehli have served to build a new city ; and in the Indies they scarce speak any more of Dehli, but only of Jehan-Abad. Yet notwithstanding, since the city of Jehan-Abad is not yet known amongst us, I intend to speak of it under the old name of Dehli, which is familiar to us.

Dehli then is a town altogether new, seated in a plain campagne, upon a river like our Loire, called Gemna, and built along one side of the river only ; there being but one boat-bridge to pass over into the plain. This town is surrounded with walls, except the river side : these walls are of bricks, and without a considerable defence, they being without a ditch, and having nothing to flank them but round towers after the old way, distant from each other an hundred common paces, and a rampart behind them, four or five foot thick. The compass of these walls, comprizing the fortress, is not so big as is commonly believed :

I have gone it round, with ease in three hours ; and I believe not, though I was on horseback, that I dispatched more than one league in an hour : 'tis true, that if you will take into the town a very long suburb, which goeth towards Lahor, as also what remains inhabited of old Dehli, which is likewise a great and very long suburb, and besides, three or four small suburbs more, all that would make in a direct line above a league and a half, and such a compass which I cannot well determine, because that between the suburbs are great gardens, and large spaces not built ; but I may say, that thus taken it would be of a prodigious bigness.

The fortress, in which is the *mehalle*, or seraglio, and the other Royal apartments, which I shall hereafter speak of, is built round upon the river ; yet there is between the water and the walls a pretty large and long sandy space, where commonly elephants are exercised, and where frequently the militia of the Omrahs and Rajas is mustered in the King's presence, who looks out of the windows of one of his apartments. The walls of the fortress, as to their round antick towers, are very near like those of the town, but they are partly of bricks, and partly of a certain red stone resembling marble, which maketh them look fairer than those of the town ; besides that, they are much higher, stronger and thicker, being able to bear some field-pieces that are there planted towards the town ; and encompassed also, excepting that side which respects the river, with a fair ditch, walled up with free-stone, full of water and fish. But yet whether they are considerable for strength ; a battery of some

middle sized canons would, in my opinion, soon cast them down.¹

Round about the ditch there is a pretty large garden, at all times full of flowers and green apricocks, which together with those great walls all red, maketh a very fine sight.

About this garden is the great street, or rather the great Place Royal, to which the two great and principal gates of the fortress do answer, and to these gates the two chief streets of the town.

In this great place it is, where the tents of the Rajas are, that are in the King's pay, to keep there every one in his turn their weekly guard; whereas the Omrahs and the *Mansebdars*, or small Omrahs, keep it within the fortress. These little Sovereigns are not pleased to see themselves thus and so long shut up in a fort.

In this very place it is, where at the break of day are exercised the horses of a long Royal stable, near it. And here 'tis also, that the *Kobat-kan*, or great Commissioner of the cavalry, carefully vieweth the horses of those cavaliers, that have been received into service, to the end that if these horses are of Turkistau, or Tartary, and large and strong enough for service, the King's mark, and that of the Omrahs] under whom such cavaliers are to be listed, may be branded upon them: a thing not ill devised, to prevent the mutual loan of horses in the musters.

This same place is also a kind of *Bazar*, or market, of an hundred things sold there, and a rendezvous of players, and juglers of all sorts, as the *pont-neuf* at Paris. It is no less the meeting-place of the poor

Astrologers, as well Mahumetan as Heathen. These Doctors (forsooth) sit there in the sun upon a piece of tapestry, all covered with dust, having about them some old Mathematical instruments, which they make shew of to draw passengers, and a great open book representing the animals of the Zodiack. These men are the Oracles, but rather the affronters of the vulgar, to whom they pretend to give, for one *payssa*, that is, a penny, good luck ; and they are they, that looking upon the hands and the face, turning over their books, and making a shew of calculation, determine the fortunate moment when a business is to be begun to make it successful. The mean women, wrapt up in a white sheet from head to foot, come to find them out, telling them in their ear their most secret concerns, as if they were their Confessors, and (which smells very strongly of stupidity and folly) entreat them to render the stars propitions to them suitable to their designs ; as if they could absolutely dispose of their influences.

The most ridiculous of all these Astrologers, in my opinion, was that mongrel Portuguese, fugitive from Goa, who sate in that place with much gravity upon his piece of tapestry, like the rest, and had a great deal of custom, though he could neither write nor read, and as for instruments and books, was furnished with nothing else but an old sea-compass, and an old Romish Prayer-book in the Portuguese language, of which he shewed the pictures for figures of the Zodiack : *a tal bestias, tal Astrologuo* : "for such beasts, such Astrologer," said he to the Reverend Father. Buzé, a Jesuit, who met him in that place.

I here speak only of the pitiful Astrologers of the *Bazar* ; for there are others in these parts, that are in the courts of the grandees, and are considered as great clerks, and are very rich ; whole Asia being overspread with this superstition. The Kings and the great Lords, who would not undertake the least things without consulting them, allow them great salaries, that they may read to them what is written in the heavens, (for so they speak here) and take out for them that fortunate moment, I was lately speaking of ; or find out, at the opening of the *Alcoran*, the decision of all their doubts.

To return ; these two principal streets, which I said do answer to the two gates of the fortress, and to the place, may have twenty five or thirty common paces in breadth, and they run in a streight line as far as you are able to see : yet that which leads to the gate of Lahor, is much longer than the other ; but they are both alike as to the houses. There is on both sides nothing but arches, as in our Place Royal ; yet with this difference, that they are but of bricks, and that there is not any building upon them, but only the terrass. There is also this difference, that they are not continued galleries. These arches are generally severed by rails that make shops which are not to be shut, where trades-men work in the day, where bankers sit for their business, and where merchants set out their wares, which at night they lock up in a magazin, the little door of which, to be shut, is in the bottom of every arch.

It is upon this magazin, which is in the back-part

of the arches, that the houses of merchants are built and raised, which make a shew good enough towards the street, and are also pretty convenient, being well aired, out of the way of the dust, and having for their floor the terrasses of the arches, upon which they can walk to look out upon the street, and to sleep at night in fresco. But excepting these houses of the chief streets, and a few others, there are not many of these fair houses, that are thus raised upon terrasses; nor are even these two streets universally furnisht with them, there being mostly upon the magazin, or or on the side, nothing but a small building, not seen from the street, the great merchants having their houses somewhere else, whither they retire at night.

Besides these two principal streets, there are yet five others, which indeed are not so long nor so streight, but for the rest are altogether like them. There are also a great many other streets crossing those on all sides, whereof there also some furnisht with arches; but because they have been built piece-meal by such particular persons, as have not observed the symmetry that was requisite, they are, for the most part, neither so large nor so streight, nor so well built as the others.

Amongst all these streets are spread every where the houses of the *Mansebdars* or little Omrahs, and those of the men of the law, as also of many great merchants, and other private men; of which there is a good number that are passable. It is true, there are but few that are all of brick or stone, and there is even a good number of these, that are made all of earth only, and thatched; but for all that, they are convenient, because they are generally airy, being

furnished with courts and gardens. Nor are they disagreeable^l within, forasmuch as besides the fine moveables, these thatched coverings are supported by a layer of certain long canes that are hard and strong, and very pretty, and because also these certain walls are plastered over with very fine and very white chalk.

Amongst these houses I have been speaking of, that are tolerable, there is also a prodigious number of other small ones, that are only made up of earth and straw, where all the simple cavaliers, and their servants, and all those little people of the market, that follow the Court and the army are lodged.

It is from these thatched houses that Dehli is so subject to fires. This last year there were burnt above sixty thousand such, at to or three times that they took fire, when there blew certain impetuous winds, that rise chiefly in summer. The fire was so quick and so violent, that it surprised the houses, and many houses also that could not be time enough loosened; and there were even some of these poor women burnt, that never had been out of the seraglio, and that are so weak and shamefaced when they see people, that they know nothing else but to hide their faces.

And it is upon the account of these pitiful houses of earth and straw, I that look upon Dehli almost no otherwise than as many villages joyned together and (which I have already said in another place) as a camp of an army, a little better and more commodiously placed, than in the field.

As to the houses of the Omrahs, that are also up and down in this city, and principally upon the

river, and even in the suburbs: you are to know that in these hot countries, to entitle an house to the name of good and fair, it is required it should be commodious, seated in a place well aired, and capable to receive the wind from all sides, and principally from the north; having courts, gardens, trees, conservatories, and little jets of waters in the halls, or at least at the entry; furnished also with good cellars with great flaps to stir the air, for reposing in fresh air from twelve till four or five of the clock, when the air of these cellars begins to be hot and stuffing: or having in lieu of cellarage certain *Ka kanavs*, that is, little houses of straw, or rather of odoriferous roots, that are very nearly made, and commonly placed in the midst of a Parterre near some conservatory, that so the servants may easily, with their pompion-bottles, water them from without. Moreover it is required for the beauty of an house, that it be seated in the midst of some great Parterre, that it have four great divans or ways raised from the ground to the height of a man, or thereabout, and exposed to the four parts of the world, to receive the wind and the cold from all the parts it may come from. Lastly, it is requisite for a good house to have raised terrasses, to sleep upon in the night, such as are of the same floor with some great chamber, to draw in ones bed-stead upon occasion; that is to say, when there comes some tempest of rain or dust, or when that rousing freshness of the break of day awakens you, and obliges you to look for a covering: or else when you apprehend that small and light dew of

the morning, which pierceth, and causeth sometimes benumbing and paralytical symptoms in the limbs.

As to the interior part of an house, it is requisite that the whole floor be covered with a mattress of cotton four inches thick, covered with a white linnen sheet during summer, and with a piece of silk tapestry in winter: that in the most conspicuous part of the chamber, near the wall, there be one or two cotton quilts, with fine flowered coverings, and set about with small and fine embroidery of silk, wrought with gold and silver, for the master of the house, or persons of quality coming in, to sit upon; and that very quilt have its cross board, purfled with gold, to lean upon: that round about the chamber, along the walls, there be several of these cross boards, as I just now mentioned, handsomly covered with velvet or flowered sattin, for bystanders also to lean upon. The walls five or six foot from the floor, must be almost all with niches, or little windows, cut in an hundred different manners, or shapes, very fine, well measured and proportioned to one another, with some porcelain vessels and flower-pots in them; and the ground must be painted and gilded, yet without any figure of man or beast, their religion not allowing thereof.

This is near as I know, the idea of a handsom and convenient house in these parts: and as there is good number of them in Dehli, that have all these qualities mentioned, or at least in part, according to which they are more or less fair and gallant: I believe one may say, without any injury to our towns, that Dehli is not without houses that are truly handsom, although they be not like ours in Europe.

Concerning the appearance and riches of the shops, (which is the thing that contributeth most to the beauty of our towns in Europe) although Dehli be the seat of a very potent and magnificent Court, and consequently the resort of infinite quantities and varieties of rich wares; yet we are not to imagine, that you shall find there our streets of St. Denis; I know not whether there be any such in all Asia. And even as to the most fine and the most rich stuffs, they are commonly but in the magazin, their shops are not furnisht with them: so that for one shop that maketh any shew, that is, where there are sold those fine sorts of linnen, those stuffs of silk streaked with gold and silver, cloth of gold, turbants embroidered with gold, and other commodities of great price; you shall always find five and twenty and more, that are filled with nothing but pots of oyl and butter, and panniers one upon another full of rice, barley, pease, corn, and many other sorts of grain and legume; which are the ordinary food not only of all the gentiles, that never eat any meat, but also of the meaner sort of the Mahumetans, and of a good part of those of the souldiery.

It is true that there is a fruit-market that maketh some shew. One may there see in summer abundance of shops full of dry fruit, that come out of Persia, Balk, Bokara, and Samarkand, as almonds, pistaches, small nuts, raisins, prunes, apricocks, and the like. And in winter there are found excellent raisins fresh, black and white, brought from the same countries, well wrapt up in cotton; also apples and pears of three or four sorts, and of these admirable melons that

last all winter. But all this fruit is very dear ; I have seen melons sold even for a crown and an half a piece. And they are indeed the great deliacy and expence of the Omrahs I have often seen in the house of my *Agah*, that there was eaten in melons in one morning for more than twenty crowns. There are none but the melons of the country that are cheap in summer, but those are not so good. The grandees only, that take care to send for seed out of Persia, and to get the ground well fitted for them, may eat good ones ; yet that but rarely neither, the ground being not so proper but that the seed degenerateth the very first year.

It is true, there is yet another fruit called *Amba*, or *mangue*, which in its season, during two summer months, is found in great plenty and very cheap ; but those of Dehli are none of the best, being very loose and flashly : those of Bengala, Golkonda, and Goa, are admirable. It hath a certain sweetness so peculiar, that I doubt whether there be any comfit in the world so pleasant. There are also *Pateques*, or water-melons in abundance, and almost all the year long ; but they also do not thrive well at Dehli ; they never have their meat so ruddy, firm and suggary ; and if there be any good, they are not to be found but amongst the great ones, who take the pains of making them grow as melons, with extraordinary care and cost.

There be also up and down in Dehli shops of comfit-makers ; but all their comfits are very ill done, being full of dust and flies.

There are besides many shops of bread every where, but because they have no ovens like ours, it never well

baked : yet in the fortress there is sold some that is reasonably good ; and the Omrahs cause such to be made in their houses that is very delicate, sparing no new butter, milk, nor eggs : yet though they leaven it, it is always much inferior in goodness to our bread of Gonesse, and to those other sorts of excellent bread of Paris, it favouring always of the cake or simnel.

In these *Bazars* there are also some tents, where they trade in roast-meat, and in dressing I know not how many sorts of dishes ; but all that is but beggarly, nasty, and ill meat. I fear you sometimes meet with the flesh of camels, horses, or oxen, dead of sickness : I do not much trust them ; so that if you will eat any thing worth eating, you must have it dressed at home.

There are also many shops every where they sell flesh ; but you must take heed, lest they give you mutton for kid ; the mutton and beef, but especially mutton, though well enough tasted, being here very hot, windy, and of ill digestion. The best meat here is young kid, but it is very rarely sold in the market by quarters ; so that if you have a mind to eat any, you must buy a whole and a live one ; which is inconvenient enough, because the meat is spoiled between one morning and evening, and is commonly so lean, that it is tasteless. Ordinarily you find in the shambles nothing but the quarters of great kids, which often also are very lean and hard. It is true, that since I have learned something of the manner of the country, I find both meat and bread good enough, because I send my servant

to the fortress to the King's caterers, who are very ready to let him have what is good for good payment, though it cost them nothing. And it was in reference to this, that one day I made my *Agah* smile, when I told him that I had, I know not how many years lived by artifice and stealing, and that for all the 150 crowns 'pay the monthly allowed me, I was ready to be starved; whereas in France for half a Roupy, I could every day eat as good a bit of meat as the King.

They have no capons, all that people being too tender-hearted towards all animals but men, whom they need for their seraglios. But the markets are full of hens, that are very good and cheap: among the rest there is one sort of little ones, that I called *Æthiopian* hens, because they have their skin black like the *Æthiopians*, which are very tender and very delicate.

Pidgeons there are, but no young ones, because they will not kill them young; they would be (say) too small, and it were ill done to kill such poor little animals.

There are also partridges, but smaller than ours, and generally (seeing they bring them afar off alive, knowing how to take them with nets) they are worse than our pullets. The like may be said of their ducks and hares, of which they also bring whole cages full alive.

Concerning fish, the people here are no great fish-mongers; yet at times one meets with very good fish, especially of two sorts, the one resembleth our pike, and the other our carp; but that is only when it is not

cold, for the Indians fear that much more than we Europeans apprehend heat. And if at any time you meet accidentally with any, the eunuchs, who love them excessively, (I know not why) carry them presently away. None but the Omrahs have power to make men fish when they please, which they do with the *Korrahs*, that great common whip always hanging at their gates.

From all that I have said, you may by the by see, whether a man ought to leave Paris to come to Dehli to make good cheer. Certainly the grandees have all things, but that is upon the account of their many servants, of the *Korrahs*, and of the plenty of money. And thence it was I once said, that at Dehli there is no mean; there you must either be a great Lord, or live miserably: for I have experienced it my self, in a manner dying of hunger this good while, though I have had considerable pay, and was resolved to spare nothing that way, because commonly there is found nothing in the markets but the refuse of the grandees. Besides that, the soul of a feast which is good wine, is not there; not that no grapes do grow there to make wine, (for I have drunk some at Amadevad and Golkonda, in the house of Englishmen and Hollanders, that was not ill) but because it is prohibited to make wine, in regard that not only by the law of Mahomet, but also by that of the Heathen, it is not permitted to drink any: so that it is very rare to find wine, and that which we find comes out of Persia from Chiras by land to Banderabasy, from thence by sea to Suratte, and from Suratte hither by land in forty six days: or it comes from the Canaries, brought also over sea

to Suratte by the Dutch. And both are so dear, that the cost (as the saying is) maketh it lose the taste ; for a bottle holding about three Parisian pints cometh often to six or seven crowns, and more. That which is of this countreys growth is called *Arac*, a strong water made of sugar not refined, and even this is expresly prohibited to be sold, and there are none but Christians that dare drink of it, except others do it by stealth. This is a drink very hot and penetrant, like the brandy made of corn in Poland. It so falls upon the nerves, that it often causeth shaking hands in those that drink a little too much of it, and casts them into incurable maladies. Here we must accustom our selves to fair and good water, and to lemonade, which is excellent, and may be made with small charges, and doth not spoil the stomach. But to say all, a man hath no great inclination, and such hot countries as these to drink wine ; and I am willing notice should be here taken together with me, that the abstinence from wine in these parts, joyned to the general sobriety of the natives, and to the sweats and perpetual transpiration made by the pores, and the cause (in my opinion) that we almost know not what is the gout, the stone, aches of the kidneys, rheumatisms, quartans ; and that those that bring any of these sicknesses hither, as I did. are at length totally freed from them : and further, that the pox it self, though very frequent, is not so cruel nor so pernicious here as in Europe : so that people generally live here more healthily than with us. But then on the other hand, there is not so much vigour here in people, as in our

cold climat ; and this feebleness and languor of body is a kind of perpetual malady, very troublesom to all, especially in the great heats of summer, and especially to the Europeans, whose bodies are not yet inured to heat.

As for shops of excellent handy-craftsmen, that is also a things we must not look for here: all we find is very little ; not that the Indians have not wit enough to make them successful in arts, they doing very well (as to some of them) in many parts of India, and it being found that they have inclination enough for them, and that some of them make (even without a master) very pretty workmanship, and imitate so well our work of Europe, that the difference thereof will hardly be discerned. I have seen amongst them even of our kind of guns, very fine and very good ; and pieces of goldsmiths works so well done, that I doubt whether in Europe they could be made better. I have also seen in picture and miniature such curious and delicate pieces, that I admired them. Amongst others, I have seen the combats of Eckbar, represented upon a buckler by by a famous painter, who was said to have been years working at it, which seemed to me an admirable piece of work. It is manifest, that they want nothing but good masters, and the precepts of art to give them just proportions ; and above all, that life of the face, to which they have not yet been able to attain. The reason therefore why in the shops of Dehli there are rarely found good handy-craftsmen, is not want of wit, but contempt of the workmen, who are ill treated, and whose work is debased to too low a price. If

some Omrah, or Mansebdar, will have any thing made by a workman of the *Bazar*, he will send for him, and make him work in a manner by force, and afterwards pay him as he pleaseth; and the man will think himself happy too, if in part of payment he receive not the *Karrak*. What heart then can a poor workman have to take pains to succeed in his workmanship? He considers nothing but to dispatch his work, thereby to earn something to put bread into his mouth. So that if there be any of them that succeed, they are of those whom the great Lords entertain in their service, and that work only for them.

Touching the things within the fortress, where are the seraglio, and some other Royal edifices, you must not look for a Louvre, or an Escorial; those buildings do not resemble ours, nor by what I have said, ought they to resemble them: it is enough that they have that stateliness, which is proper to the climat.

I find nothing remarkable at the entry, but two great elephants of stone, which are on the two sides of one of the gates. Upon one of them is the statue of Jamel, that famous Raja of Chitar, and upon the other, that of Polta his brother. These are those two gallant men, that together with their mother, who was yet braver than they, cut so much work for Ekbar; and who in the sieges of towns, which they maintained against him, gave such extraordinary proofs of their generosity, that at length they would rather be killed in the out-falls with their mother, than submit: and for this gallantry it is, that even their enemies thought them worthy to have these statues erected for them. These two great elephants, together with the two re-

solute men sitting on them, do at the first entry into this fortress make an impression of I know, not what greatness and awful terror.

After you have passed this gate, you find a long and large street, divided into two by a channel of running water, and having on both sides, as our pont-neuf, a long raised wall five or six foot high, and four broad ; and further off some arches shut, that follow one another all along in the form of gates. It is upon this long raised place that those clerks, controllers, and other small officers sit to do their office, without being incommoded by the horses and people that pass along beneath. And it is there also where the Manseb-dars, or little Omrahs are at night to keep the guard. The water of the channel runneth dividing it self through the whole seraglio, and at length falleth into the ditches to fill them. It is drawn out of the river by a channel opened five or six leagues above Dehli, and conveyed cross the field, and that through some rocks that have cost great pains to be cut in divers places. And this is very near what may be seen at the entry into one of the two principal gates, that answer to the great *Piazza*.

If you enter at the other gate, you also find presently a pretty long and large street, having its risings on the sides as the other, together with shops upon them in lieu of the arches. This street is properly a *Bazar*, which is very commodious during the season of the rains and summer, because it is covered by a long and large vault, which hath on the top great openings to let in light.

Besides these two streets, there are many other small ones on the right and left hand, that lead to the apartments, where the Omrahs keep their guard, each in his turn, once a week, for twenty four hours. These places are stately ones for *Corps de Gardes* the Omrahs striving to beautifie them at their own charges. These are ordinarily great raised places respecting a *Parterre*, that hath its little channels of running water, small conservatories and jets of water. The Omrahs during the twenty four hours of guards, take no care for their table, the King sending them all their meat ready dressed, and they being but to receive it, as they do, with very much ceremony and respect, making three obeysances of thanks, by elevating their hand upon their head, and bowing down to the ground, their face turned toward the King.

There are found many raised walks and tents in in sundry places, that are the offices of several officers. Besides, there are many great halls that are the *Kar-kanays*, or places where handy-craftsmen do work. In one of these halls you shall find embroiderers at work, together with their chief that inspects them; in another you shall see gold-smiths; in a third picture-drawers; in a fourth workmen in lacca; in others, joyners, turners, taylors, shoemakers in others, workmen in silk and purfled gold, and in all those sorts of fine cloth, of which they make turbants, girdles with golden flowers, and those drawers of ladies, that are so fine and delicate, as that sometimes they last them but one night, though they ofen cost them ten or twelve crowns, when they are of that fashion, as I

have mentioned ; I mean, enriched with those fine embroideries of needle-work.

All these handy-craftsmen come in the morning to those *Kar-kanays*, and work there all day long, and at night return to their several homes, every one passing his life quietly, without aspiring above his condition : for the embroiderer maketh his son an embroiderer, the gold-smith maketh his son a gold-smith, and physician in a town maketh his son a physician ; and nobody marrieth but with those that are of his trade : which is religiously observed, not only among the Heathen, that are obliged to it by their law, but almost always among the Mahumetans themselves : whence that you may often see very handsom young women, that remain unmarried, passing their time as well as they can, though they might meet with good matches, if their parents would or could marry them into another family, esteemed less noble than their own.

After all these apartments, we come at length to the *Am-kas*, which is something very Royal. This is a great square court with arches, as may be our Place Royal : with this difference, that there are no buildings atop, and that the arches are severed from one another by a wall, yet so that there is a small gate to pass from one to the other. Over the great gate, which is in the middle of one of the sides of this square, there is a large raised place, all open on the side of the court, which is called *Nagar-kanay* because that is the place where the trumpets are, or rather the hoboyes and timbals, that play together in consort at certain hours of the day and night : but this is a very odd comfort in the ears of an European that is a new

comer, not yet accustomed to it : for sometimes there are ten or twelve of those hoboyes, and as many timbals, that found altogether at once ; and there is an hoboy which is called *Kuna*, a fathom and an half long, and of half a foot aperture below ; as there are timbals of brass or iron, that have no less than a fathom in diameter : whence it is easie to judge, what a noise they must needs make. Indeed this musick in the beginning did so pierce and stun me, that it was unsufferable for me ; yet I know not what strange power custom hath, for I now find it very pleasing, especially in the night, when I hear it afar off in my bed upon my terrass ; then it seemeth to me to carry with it something that is grave, majestical and very melodious. And there is some reason for this melody ; for seeing it hath its rules and measures, and that there are excellent masters taught from their youth to manage it, and perfectly know how to qualife and temper those strong sounds of the hoboyes and timbals, it cannot be otherwise, but they must thence obtain some sympathy that cannot be displeasing to the ear, provided (as I said) that it be heard at a distance. And even for this reason it is, that they have placed the *Nagar-kanay* very high, and remote from the ears of the King, as you will hear by and by.

Over against the great gate of the court, upon which is the *Nagar-kanay* beyond the whole court, there is a great and stately hall, with many ranks of pillars high raised, very airy, open on three sides, looking to the court, and having its pillars and

ground painted and gilded. In the midst of the wall, which separateth this hall from the seraglio, there is an opening, or a kind of great window high and large, and so high that a man cannot reach to it from below with his hand : there it is where the King appears seated upon his throne having his sons on his sides, and some eunuchs standing, some of which drive away the flies with peacocks-tails, others fan him with great fans, others stand there ready with great respect and humility for several services. Thence he seeth beneath him all the Omrahs, Rajas, and Ambassadors, who are also all of them standing upon a raised ground encompassed with silver rails, with their eyes downwards, and their hands crossing their stomachs : somewhat further off he seeth the Mansebdars, or lesser Omrahs, which are also all standing in the same posture and respect as the Omrahs do : and somewhat further off, in the remaining part of the hall, and in the court, he seeth a great crowd of all sorts of people. For there it is where the King every day about noon giveth a general audience to all ; which is the reason that this great hall is called *Am-kas*, that is, Place of Audience, or a place of meeting common to great and small.

During an hour and an half, or thereabouts, whilst this assembly lasteth, the King is diverted by seeing pass before him a certain number of the handsomest horses of his stables, to see whether they be well dressed, and in good plight. So he doth see a good number of elephants passing also before him, whose dirty bodies are then well washed and cleansed, and painted black like ink, except that they have two great streaks

painted red, which from the top of their head come down to their trunk, where they meet. These elephants have then also certain deckings embroidred with a couple of silver bells hanging down on the sides, fastened to the two ends of a great silver chain, passing over their shoulders; as also certain cow-tails of the great Tibet, white and very dear, hanging at their ears like great mustachoes: and two little elephants well accounted going by their sides, as if they were their slaves and appointed to serve them. These great colosses, as if they were proud to see themselves so bravely adorned and attended, march with much gravity; and when they are come before the King, the conductor that sits upon their shoulders, with a pointed iron in his hand pricketh them, and speaketh to them and maketh them bow with one knee, and lift up the trunk into the air and make a noise, which the people take for a *Taslim*, or deep salute.

After these elephants there are brought divers tamed gazelles, which are made to fight with one another; as also some *Nilgaux*, or grey oxen, which in my opinion are a kind of elands and rhinoceross, and those great buffalos of Bengala with their prodigious horns to combat with a lion or tiger; likewise leopards or panthers tamed, which he useth in the hunting of gazelles: further, some of those handsom hunting dogs of Usbeck of all sorts, every one with his little red cover; store of birds of prey of all kinds, some of which are for partridges, others for cranes, others to fall upon hares, and, as they, say, upon the very gazelles, beating their heads and blinding them with their wings and claws.

Often also one or two of the Omrahs ~~cause~~ at that time to pass their cavalry for a review before the King: the Omrahs coveting that their horsemen should appear gallant, advantageously decked with extraordinary garments, and their horses trapped with iron, and harnessed with I know not how many different and odd fashions.

The King taketh sometimes pleasure himself to cause cutlases, for short swords, to be tryed upon dead sheep, brought to him without the bowels, and very neatly packed up, where the young Omrahs Manseb-dars and *Gourze-berdars*, or mace-bearers, strive to shew their force and dexterity by cutting asunder the four legs joyned together, and the body of the sheep all in one stroke.

Mean time all these divertisements are nothing but an interlude of various affairs: for as I have said, the King omits not to make a muster of his cavalry, and well to view them himself. We have seen, that the war being ended, there is not one cavalier, nor any other souldier, but he hath seen him and examined him, either to increase his pay or to lessen it, or quite to cashier him. Besides it is seen every day that he commands the petitions, which are shewed him afar off in the crowd of the people, to be brought to him and to be read: ordering the parties concerned to approach, and examining them, and often causing justices to be done them immediately, although he hath the *Adalet-kanay*, the Chamber of Justices: where he ordinarily is present once a week, attended by his two first *Kadys*, or Chief Justices: and though also at one

other time in the week he hath the patience to hear in private, for the space of two hours, ten persons of the common people, whom a good and rich old man presents to him. Whence it appears (to note that by the by) that those Kings, how barbarous soever esteemed by us, do yet constantly remember, that they owe Justice to their subjects.

All what I have been relating to you of what is transacted in this assembly of the Am-kas, seems to me great and royal; but that which hath extreemly offended me there, is a kind of adulation too mean and flat, commonly heard in that place. For the King cannot say a word to any purpose, but he is presently exalted, and some of the first Omrahs lifting up their hands, as if they were to receive some benediction from Heaven, cry out, *Kāramat! Kāramat!* "Wonder! Wonder!" Neither is there any Mogolian but he knoweth and glorieth in reciting this proverb in Persian verse:

*Aguer chach ronzra Gouyed cheb est in
Bubayed Goust inek mah ou peruin*

"If the King saith at noon-day, it is night you are to say, behold the moon and the stars." This vice passeth even unto the people. I have seen an hundred times people of Mogol, who having need of me in some business, made no scruple to come and tell me to my face for a preamble, that I was *Aristotalis*, *Bocrate*, and *Abouysina Ulzaman*; the Aristotle, the Hippocrates, and the Avicenna of the time. At first I endeavoured to fence my self against it by this ordinary complement, that I was none such, and was far inferior to the merit of those men: but that made

them worse ; so that I thought it better to accustom my ears to their flattery, as I have done to their musick. I cannot forbear imparting to you this little piece of flattery, because that will let you see the more how far they carry it. A *Pendet* Brachman, or Heathen Docter, whom I had put to serve my *Agah*, at the entring into his service would needs make his panegyrick, and after he had compared him to the greatest Conquerors that ever were, and told him an hundred gross and impertinent flatteries, at last concluded seriously with this ; "when you put your foot into the stirrup, my Lord, and when you march on horse-back in the front of the cavalry, the earth trembleth under your feet, the eight elephants, that hold it up upon their heads, not being able to support it." I could not hold laughing, and I strove seriously to tell my *Agah*, who could not hold neither, that then he would do well not to go on horse-back but very seldom, to prevent earthquakes, which often cause so great mischiefs. Who quickly made this reply with a constrained countenance between serious and smiling : and it is therefore that I cause my self ordinarily to be carried out in a *Palekey*.

But no more of this : from the great hall of the Am-kas one enters into a more retired place, called the *Goselkane*, that is, the place to wash in. But few are suffered to enter there ; neither is the court of it so great as that of the Am-kas : but the hall is very handsom, spacious, painted and gilded, and its floor raised four or five feet high. There it is where the Kings is seated in a chair, his Omrahs standing round about him, and giveth a more particular

audience to his officers, receiveth their accompts, and treateth of the most important affairs of State. All the Omrahs are obliged to be without fail very evening at this assembly, as in the morning at the Am-kas; else something is retrenched of their pay. There is only my *Agah* Danechmend-kan, that because he is a person of learning, and perpetually busie in studying, or in foreign affairs, is dispensed with, except Wednesday, which is his day of being upon the guard. These are indispensible customs, and it is very just they should be so in respect of the Omrahs, because they are in a manner so in respect of the King: for he almost never faileth to be at these two assemblies, unless some urgent affair do supervene, or he be exceeding sick. And we did see, that Aureng-Zebe, even in his last sickness, which was very dangerous, failed not to make himself to be carried thither once a day at least. It is true, he being sick to extremity, that if he had not been seen there, the whole kingdom would presently have been in disorder, and the shops shut up in the city.

Whilst the King in this hall of *Gosle-kanay* is busie, as I was saying, they omit not to let pass before him most of the things that are made to pass at the Am-kas. There is only this difference, that this assembly being held in the evening, and the Court being then less, the review of the cavalry of the Omrahs is not made, as in the morning at the Am-kas: but then there is this of particular, that all the Manseb-dars that are upon the guard do salute the King, and pass before him with ceremony enough: before them marcheth with sufficient pomp that which is called the *Kours*, which are many figures of silver caried at the end of some great silver

sticks, that are very fine and very artificially made of ; which there are two that represent two great fishes, two others that exhibit a pnaantastick animal of an horrid figure, by them called *Fiedeht* ; others that represent two lions, others two hands, others scales, and many more whereof they make mysteries. Amongst these *Kours* and *Manseb-dars*, are mixt many *Gourzeberders*, or mace-bearers, who are chosen men, tall of stature, and of a good mean, (spoken of elsewhere) and appointed to prevent disorders in assemblies, and to run about with speed to carry the orders, and to execute the commands of the King.

I now with I could lead you about in the seraglio as I have done in the rest of the fortress : but who is the traveller that can speak of that as an eye-witness ? I have sometimes entred into it when the King was not at Dehli, and I think pretty far, upon the occasion of a great lady, that was so sick that she could not be carried to the gate, according to custom ; but I had always a covering of kachemire over my head, which like a great scarf hung down to my feet, and an eunuch conducted me by the hand, like a blind man, so that I cannot particularly describe to you what it is. Only in general I can tell you, according to what I have learnt from some eunuchs, that in it there are very handsom apartments severed one from another, more or less great and stately according to the quality and the pension of the women ; that there is almost no chamber but it hath at its a door a store-house of running water ; that 'tis full of parterrs, pleasant walks, shady places, rivolets, fountains, jets of water, grotta's, great caves against the heat of the day, and grea terrassed raised high, and

very airy, to sleep upon in the cool: in a word, you know not there what 'tis to be hot. They principally boast of a little tower respecting the river, being, say they, covered with plates of gold, as those two that are at Agra, and within all gold and azure, very handsome and rich pictures and looking-glasses.

This is very near what I can tell you of the fortress, yet before we leave it, let us return once more to the Am-kas. I am now going to represent it to you after the manner I saw it at certain festivals of the year, especially at that which was kept after the war for an extraordinary rejoicing; for this is one of the most remarkable things I have seen.

The King appeared sitting upon his throne, in the bottom of the great hall of the Am-kas, splendidly, apparelled. His vest was of white sattin flowred and raised with a very fine embroidery of gold and silk. His turban was of cloth of gold, having a fowl wrought upon it like an heron, whose foot was covered with diamonds of an extraordinary bigness and price, with a great oriental topas, which may be said to be matchless, shining like a little sun. A collar of big pearls hung about his neck down to his stomach, after the manner that some Heathens wear here their great beads. His throne was supported by six high pillars or feet, said to be of massie gold, and set with rubies, emeralds and diamonds. I am not able to tell you aright, neither the number nor the price of this heap of precious stones, because it is not permitted to come near enough to count them, and to judge of their water and purity. Only this I can say, that the big diamonds are there in confusion, and that the throne is

estimated to be worth four *Kouroures* of Roupies, if I remember well. I have said elsewhere, that a Roupie is almost equivalent to half a crown, a *Lecque* to an hundred thousand Roupies, and a *Kourour*, to an hundred *Lecques*: so that the throne is valued forty millions of Roupies, which are worth about sixty millions of French Livers. Chah-Jehan, the father of Aureng-Zebe, is he that caused it to be made, to shew of many precious stones as successively had been amassed in the treasury, of the spoils of those ancient Patans and Rajas, and of the presents which the Omrahs are obliged to make yearly upon certain festival days. The art and workmanship of this throne is not answerable to the matter: that which I find upon it best devised, are two peacocks covered with precious stones and pearls, which are the work of a French-man, called———that was an admirable workman, and that after having circumvented many Princes with his doublets, which he knew how to make admirably well, fled unto this Court, where he made his fortune. Beneath this throne there appeared all the Omrahs in splendid apparel, upon a raised ground covered with a great canopy of purpled gold with great golden fringes, and inclosed by a silver balistre. The pillars of the hall were hung with tapestries of purpled gold, having the ground of gold; and for the roof of the hall, there was nothing but great canopies of flowered sattin, fastened with red silken cords, that had big tufts of silk mixt with threads gold hanging on them. Below there was nothing to be seen but great silken tapestries very rich, of an extraordinary length and breadth. In the Court there was set abroad a

certain tent they call the *Aspex*, as long and large as the hall and more. It was joyned to the hall by the upper part, and reached almost as far as to the middle of the court; mean time it was all inclosed by a great balistre covered with plates of silver. It was supported by three pillars, being of the thickness and height of a barge-mast, add by some lesser ones, and they all were covered with plates of silver. It was red from without, and lined within with those fine *Chittes*, or cloth painted by a pencil of Maslipatan, purposely wrought and contrived with such vivid colours, and flowers so natural drawn of an hundred several fashions and shades, that one would have said, it were an hanging parterre. Thus was the great hall of the Am-kas adorned and set out.

As to those arched galleries, which I have spoken of, that are round about the court, each Omrah had received order to dress one of them at his own charges. And they now striving who should make his own most stately, there was seen nothing but purfled gold above and beneath, and rich tapestries under foot.

The third day of the feast, the King caused himself to be weighed with great ceremony, and after him divers Omrahs, in great scales, and with weights said to be of massie gold. I remember that all the Omrahs expressed a great joy, that the King weighed two pounds more now than the year preceding.

Every year there are held such kind of festivals, but never any was seen done with so much splendor and charge. It is said, that that which induced Aureng-Zebe to celebrate this splendid feast, was nothing else but

to make the merchants of purified gold recover themselves, who had whole magazins full of it, much spoiled in those four or five years of war, wherein they could not sell them. These expences of the Omrahs were great ; but the simple cavaliers paid their share of it, because that the Omrahs after the feast made them take off that commodity to make vests thereof.

There is an ancient custom accompanying these feasts, which little pleaseth the Omrahs : and it is this, then they are by respect obliged to make some fair presents to the King in proportion of their pay. There are some, that to appear brave, or for fear of being searched for the rapines by them committed in their offices and governments ; or to purchase the favour of the King, in the hopes of having their pensions augmented, make him presents that are extraordinary. Some (which is ordinary enough) do present fine vessels of gold set with precious stones ; others present fair pearls, diamonds, emeralds, or rubies ; others (which also is very common) give him, without other ceremony, a quantity of those pieces of gold, that are worth about a pistol and an half. I remember, that Aureng-Zebe, being gone to visit (during this great festivals) his Visir Jafer-kan, not as Visir, but as a kinsman, and under the pretence of desiring to see a piece of building, which he had caused to be raised anew, Jafer-kan presented him in these pieces of gold, with the value of an hundred thousand crowns, some good pearls, and one ruby valued forty thousand crowns ; but which Chah-Jehan, who was admirably well skill'd in jewels, discovered not to be worth five hundred crowns ; the which perplexed the

first jewellers exceedingly, that had been deceived therein.

There is another thing sometimes attending these feasts, which is odd enough : and that is a kind of fair, then held in the *Mehale*, or the King's seraglio. The women of the Omrahs and of the great Manseb-dars, or little Omrahs (I mean those that are the handsomest and the most gallant) are the she-merchants that keep the fair, and sell commodities ; the King is the merchant that buyeth, as also all those Begums or Princesses, and other great ladies of the seraglio. The wares are fine purfled gold, or rich embroideries of the new fashion, some rich ribbons well wrought upon cloth of gold, or some pieces of that fine cloth which is worn by the great ladies, and other such merchandize of great price. If they have ever a handsom daughter, they forget not to bring her along with them to let the King see her, and so make her, known to those Begums. The jest of this fair is, that the King comes to bargain with those she-merchants, like a petty merchant, penny by penny, contesting that they are not in earnest, that is dear, that he will give no more than so much ; that the merchandize of such an one is far better, and the like. The women, on the other hand, do their best to make good their part, and without considering that 'tis the King, (which is best of the sport) they contend and stand upon their price, till sometimes they come to high words, as that that is to be a merchant of snow, (one of their phrases) that he understands nothing in the matter of wares, that he may go to another place, that that commodity is not for him, &c. The Begums do the like, or worse,

for they sometimes fall to downright railing, so that there is such a cry and noise, and boufonnery, that it cannot be parallel'd. But when any price is agreed on, who ever buyeth on this or that side, the King payeth, and the Begums pay, all with ready money: and it also falls out often enough, that the King and the Begums, instead of silver Roupies, let slide (in favour of the handsom she-marchant, or her daughter) some Roupies of gold, as if 'twere by mistake, and without taking notice of any thing. The she-merchants also take it in like manner, all passeth with expressions of rally and gallantry. Chah-Jehan, who did not hate the sex, would still multiply this fair, and have it at all festival days, though he knew it did not very well please some Omrahs. But there is one thing, which to me seems to be a little too extravagant; which is, that the publick women, I mean not those of the *Bazar*, but those more retired and considerable ones, that go to the great marriages in the houses of the Omrahs and Manseb-dars to sing and dance, those that are called *Kenchen*, as if you should say, the gilded, the blossoming ones; that those, I say, did also enter in the time of Chah-Jehan into the seraglio at such fairs, and there passed even the whole night in singing and dancing. These are not of that sort which prostitute themselves promiscuously to all; and they are most of them handsom and well apparelled, and excellent singers and dancers, after the mode of the country, surprising in the suppleness of their body, and the nimbleness of their motions, yet in the upshot of the rank of publick women. Chah-Jehan was not content only to have them come

to the seraglio at those feasts, but when they came to salute him, according to that antient custom that obligeth them to come every Wednesday to do obeysance to the King in the Am-kas, he often made them to enter there, and to pass all night with him in such sports and boufonries, Aureng-Zebe is more serious, he suffers them not to come into the seraglio: he permits only (not to abrogate the custom) that they may ordinarily come every Wednesday to give him the *Salam*, or salute, in the Am-kas, at a distance, but they must presently return home again.

But since we are upon these feasts and fairs, and speak of these *Kenchens*, what hurt were it if I should tell you a story to make you merry, of one of our French men; since Plutarch is of opinion, that little things are not always to be passed by, and that they often mind us more of the genious and temper of men than the greatest. This French man called Bernard, was at this Court about the latter years of King Jehan-Guire. He must needs have been some good physitian, and withal excellent in Chirurgery, according to the relations that are made of him. He was welcome to Jehan-Guire, and became very familiar with him, to that degree that they drank and debauched together, Nor did this Jehan-Guire ever think on any thing, but a good cup and merriment, leaving the management of the State to his wife, the renowned Nour-Mehale, or Nour-Jehan Begum, which he used to say, had wit enough to govern the empire without his giving himself any trouble about it. Besides that this our country-man had of the King ten crowns daily pay, he gained yet more by treating those

great ladies of the seraglio, and the grand Omrahs, that all made use of him, and presented him who could best, because he was both successful in his cures, and extraordinarily favoured by the King: but he was a man that could keep nothing, what he receive with one hand, he at the same time gave away with the other, so that he was known and loved by all, especially by those *Kenchens*, upon whom he made great expences, having always a set of them that passed the night at his house in singing and dancing. Mean time he chanced to fall in love with one of these women that was young and beautiful, and danced exceeding well; but the mother apprehending least the daughter, by prostituting her self, should lose her strength and vigor (as it will fall out) would not let her go out of her sight: so that Bernard could never find any other way to compass his ends but this. One day when the King made him a present in the Am-kas, before all the Omrahs, for a considerable cure he had done in the seraglio, he very submissively gave his Majesty thanks, waving the present, but instead of it, begged this favour of him, that he would vouchsafe to give him this young *Kencheny*, which he was amorous of, and which stood behind him, ready to make the usual obeysance to the King. The whole assembly brake out into laughter to see him wave the present, and to hear him make so ridiculous a demand, he being a Christian, and the woman a Mahometan and a *Kencheny*. But Jehan-Guire, who never troubled his head much with Mahometanism, and could not hold laughing aloud, presently commanded that this

young woman should be given him, saying, "Lay her on his shoulders, and let him carry her away." So said, so done ; and in the presence of the whole assembly this *Kenchen* was put on Bernard's back, who went away thus charged, and carried her to his house.

I cannot forbear giving you here an account of a divertisement, which usually these feasts end with, and which is unknown to us in Europe : and that is the combat of the elephants, which the King, the ladies of the Court, and the Omrahs do behold from several apartments of the fortress, and which is shewn before all the people in this great sandy place which looks to the river.

They raise a wall of earth three or four foot broad and five or six foot high. The two elephants that are to fight, meet one another face to face, one on the one side of the wall, the other, on the other, each having two riders upon him, that so, if the first who sits on his shoulders having a great pointed iron in his hand, to turn the beast on the right or left hand) should fall, the other who sits backward, may cast himself into his place. These four riders or guides do animate their elephants to the combat, and vigorously to fall upon their enemy, now flattering them, and by and by chiding them as cowards, and very rudely kicking them with their heels. After they have been a good while thus chased and pusht on, then you shall see these two bulky masses come to the wall, and bluntly assault one another, and give such cruel blows with their teeth head and trunk, that you would think they would soon strike one another dead. This fight continues

a while, then ceaseth, and begins afresh several times, until the mudwall being overthrown, the stoutest of the two passeth upon the other, maketh him turn his back, pursueth him with blows of his teeth and trunk, and gets such an holdfast upon him, that there is no means of seperating them, except it be with the *Cherkys*, that is, certain artificial fires cast betwixt them, this animal being very fearful of fire ; whence it comes, that since fire-arms have been used in armies, elephants do almost no good at all. It is true indeed, that some of those brave ones that come out of Ceilan, are not so timerous ; but that is not till they have been whole years accustomed to it, by discharging every day muskets before them, and by casting squibs between their legs. Mean time, this conflict of the elephants would be no such displeasing sight ; if it were not so cruel, it often happening, that some of those poor guides are trod under foot and perish ; for the elephant in the combat have this malice, that they strive above all things to strike with their trunk, and to pull down the conductor of their adversary ; and thence it is, that on the day when these poor riders know they are to make the elephants fight, they bid farewel to their wives and children, as if they were condemned do death. That which encourages and comforts them, is, that if they escape and quit themselves well of their duty, the King increases their pay, and commands a sack of *peyssas*, which amounts to about fifty French Liveres, to be forthwith given them or if they be killed upon the spot he orders that pay to be

made to the widow and the office to be given to his son, if he have any. There is another mischief which often accompanieth this combat; which is that in this great throng there are always some persons overthrown by the elephant, or trod under foot by the horses and people, that on a sudden run away all at once, and fall one upon another, when the elephants are enraged, and the one pursueth the other, so that then one cannot at any nearness look on but with danger. For my part, the second time I saw it, I did sufficiently repent for having approached so nigh, and if I had not had a good horse, and two good servants, I believe I should have paid for my curiosity as dear as others.

But 'tis time we should leave the fortress, and return into the city, there to observe to you two things I had forgot. The first is the great *Mosquee*, seen afar off in the midst of the town, standing upon a rock, flatted to build upon, and to make round about a large place for four long and fair streets to end upon, and answering to the four sides of the Mosque, viz. one to the principal gate, or frontispiece, another behind that, and the two others to the two gates that are in the middle of the two remaining sides. To come to the gates, there are twenty five or thirty steps of fair and large stones going round about, except the back-part, which is covered with other great quarry-stones to cover the unevenness of the cut rock: which contributes much to make this fabrick make a shew. The three entries are stately, there is nothing but marble, and their large gates are covered with

copper plates exceedingly well wrought. Above the the principal gate, which is much statelier than the two others, there are many small turrets of which marble as well without as within; that in the middle is much bigger and higher than the two others. All the rest of the Mosque, I mean from these three domes unto the great gate, is without covering because of the heat of the country; and the whole pavement is of large squares of marble. I grant willingly, that this structure is not according to the rules and orders of architecture, which we esteem is indispensably to be follow'd; yet I observe nothing in it that offends the eye: but rather find all to be well contrived, and well proportioned: and I do even believe, that if in Paris we had a Church of this way of architecture, it would not be disliked, if there were nothing else in it but that 'tis of an extraordinary and surprising aspect, and because that, excepting the three great domes and all the turrets, which are of white marble it appears all red, as if all were nothing else but great tables of red marble, though it be nothing else but a stone very easie to cut, and which even flaketh off in time. I shall add by the by, that if it be true what is said of the quarries of this stone, 'tis remarkable, that it grows again every year; whether it be by a petrescent water yearly filling it, or otherwise, I decide not.

This Mosque it is to which the King repaireth every Friday (which is the Sunday of the Mahumetans) to pay his devotion. Before he goes out of the fortress, the streets he is to pass, are constantly

watered because of the heat and dust. Two or three hundred musquetiers are to stand and make a lane about the gate of the fortress, and as many more on the sides of a great street that ends at the Mosque. Their musquets are small, but well wrought, and they have a kind of scarlet-case with a little streamer upon them. Besides there must be five or six cavaliers well mounted ready at the gate, and ride at a good distance before the King, for fear of raising dust ; and their office is to keep off the people. Things being thus prepared, the King is seen to come out of the fortress seated upon an elephant richly harnessed, under a canopy with pillars painted and gilded ; or else on a throne shining of gold and azure, upon two beams, covered with scarlet or purpled gold, carried by eight chosen and well accoutred men. The King is followed by a body of Omrahs, some of which are on horseback, some in a *Paleky*. Among these Omrahs there are many Manseb-dars, and mace-bearers, such as I have before spoken of. And though this be not that splendid and magnificent procession, or rather mascarade of the Grand Seignior, (I have no proper name for it nor the warlike order of our Kings, it being altogether of another fashion, yet for all that there is something great and royal in it.

The other thing I had forgot to acquaint you with is an edifice in the city, called the *Karvansarah* of the Princes ; the renowned Begum-Saheb, eldest daughter of Chah-Jehan, having caused it to be built at her charges, and willing to contribute something to the decoration of the town, as all the Omrahs strove to do.

to please Chah-Jehan. This is another great square, arched like our Palace-Royal, but still with this difference, that one arch is separate from the other by a wall, and that in the bottom of every arch there is a little chamber; and besides that, above the arches there is a gallery which rangeth round about the building, to enter into as many high chambers, as there are below. This place is the rendezvous of all the great merchants, Persians, Usbecks, and other strangers that ordinarily do there find empty chambers convenient enough, to stay in for some time in great safety, the gate being shut every night. If there were a score of such structures in divers parts of Paris, strangers newly arriving would not be in that trouble, as often they are to find safe lodgings; for there they might be until they had seen their acquaintance, and looked for good accomodation besides that they would serve for magazins of all sorts of commodities, and for the rendezvous of all merchants strangers.

Before we leave Dehli, I shall add a few lines in reference to this question, which doubtless you'll make, viz. whether in Dehli there be as much people and gallantry as at Paris? Certainly when I consider those three or four cities of Paris that are one above another, all those chambers and other rooms full from top to bottom; when I farther consider that incredible throng and confusion of men and women, horsemen and passengers on foot, of chariots, sedans and coaches, and that there are but few great *Piazzas* and gardens in Paris; this city seems to me a nursery of the world, and I can hardly believe, that there are as many people in Dehli. Yet notwithstanding when I reflect

upon that multitude of shops on one side of Dehli, and on the other, upon the vast extent of that city, and that there are never less in it then 35000 cavaliers, not to speak of the houses of the Omrahs ; that of all these cavaliers, there are very few but have wives and children, and a great number of servants having their houses apart as their masters ; and that all these houses swarm with women and children : that in many places of Dehli, though the streets be broad, and there be but new chariots and no coaches, yet at the hours when the heat suffers people to come abroad for their business, there is great confusion : when (I say) I consider all this on the other hand, I do not well know what to determine about the question, and I imagine, that if there be not altogether so much people in Dehli as in Paris, at least there wants not much of it.

Concerning the number of gallant people, it must be acknowledged, that there is this difference between those of Paris and Dehli, that of ten persons met with upon the streets of Paris, you shall see seven or eight well cloathed and of some fashion, which no man will count rascally or beggerly people ; whereas in Dehli, for two or three persons that are pretty well covered, you shall always find seven or eight poor and ragged people ; the army which is there drawing after it all that crew of beggers and rascals. Yet this is to be acknowledged for a truth, that in Dehli, as well as in Paris, one meets with a very great quantity of persons well made, gallant, well mounted, well dressed, and well attended : and indeed, to be upon the great place before the fortress at the hours, when all those Omrahs, Rajas, and

Manseb-dars go to the assembly and to the guard, that hath something great and splendid in it : when you shall see there every where arrive those Manseb-dars well accoutred, shining with gold, and well mounted, a couple of men going before them to make place, and as many behind ; when you shall also see many of those great Omrahs and Rajas riding upon proud elephants, and some of them on horse-back like the Manseb-dars, and most of them fitting in their rich *Palekys*, carried upon the shoulders of six men, their back leaning against some thick cushion of purpled gold, chewing their *betcie*, to have a good breath and vermilion lips, with a servant on the side carrying a tooth-pick, and a porcelain or silver spitting-vessel ; and two more, fanning him and keeping off the flies and dust from him with peacocks-tails ; and three or four others marching before to put by the people ; to which is to be added part of their cavalry (I mean the bravest and best mounted of them) following after. When, I say, all this is seen together marching, as hath been said, with the crowd made there as well as at Paris, it will not be denied to be something great and very gallant.

As to the country about Dehli, it is considerable for its fertility ; for it beareth rice, millet, and three or four other sorts of legumes, (which is the ordinary food of the common people) corn, sugar, indigo, and all that in abundance. At two leagues off the city on Agra's side, in a place by the Mahumetans called Koja Kotubeddine, there is a very ancient edifice which hath been a Temple of Idols, where are inscriptions that must also be very ancient, the characters

CITIES OF INDOSTAN.

of them being such that no body knows what they are, and different from those of all the languages of the Indies,

On another side, at two or three leagues distance from the town, you see an house of pleasure of the Kings, which indeed is a stately and Royal house, but yet you must not think it approach to *Fontainebleau*, or to St. Germain, or to Versailles. Neither must you imagine that in this campagne of Dehli there are any St. Cloux, Chantilly's, Meudons, Liancours Vaux, Melles, and many such others ; or that you see there any of those other inferior houses of pleasure belonging to simple gentlemen, citizens and merchants. Maxime, that the subjects of a kingdom have propriety in any thing, hinders all that.

Lastly, to make you pass quickly those fifty or sixty leagues, which are betwixt Dehli and Agra, you are not to think, that upon this road you shall see any such large and rich burroughs as there upon our roads. Set aside Maturas, where you see still an ancient and stately Temple of Idols, and excepting some *Karavansarrah's*, that are well enough, found on the high-way to serve for night-lodgings, I find nothing considerable there, but that Royal alley of trees planted by the command of Jehan-Guire, and continued by the same order for an hundred and fifty leagues, with little Pyramids or turrets erected every half league, to mark the ways, and with frequent wells to afford drink to passengers, and to water the young trees.

OF AGRA

To pass to the description of Agra, you have the idea of it, if you have well taken that of Dehli; at least in respect of its scituation, which is also upon the Gemna, and in regard of the fortress, or Royal house, and of most of the buildings. It is true, that Agra hath this advantage over Dehli, that being a city where the Kings have already resided a long while, viz. since Akber, who caused it to be built, and called it after his name Akber-abad, it is of greater extent than Dehli, and hath more of those fine houses of the Omrahs and Rajas, and more of the fair Karvan-sarrahs, as also more of those pretty houses of stone and brick belonging to particular persons; besides that it hath two famous tombs, of which I shall speak hereafter: but then it hath these disadvantages, that it wants walls; that having been built altogether by one design, it hath not those fair and large streets of uniform buildings as Delhi; and that excepting four or five of those principal streets of merchants, which are very long and well enough built, all the rest for the most part, is nothing, but a number of little streets, streight without proportion, and nothing but windings and turnings; which causes strange confusions when the Court is there. I see no other difference between Agra and Dehli, than that I have been just now speaking of; except it be that Agra hath more of a country town than Dehli, especially when we look upon it from an higher place: but 'tis not such a country-aspect as disgraceth it, but a very agreeable

diverting one ; for, there being betwixt the houses of Omrahs, Rajas and others, store of big green trees mixt, every one having been curious to plant of them in his garden and in his court for shade ; and besides those high houses of the *Banians*, or Heathen merchants, appearing here and there between those trees, as reliques of old castles of forrests ; all that causeth within the town very pleasing sights and perspectives especially in a dry and hot country, where peoples eyes seem to desire nothing but verdure and shade.

Mean time you need not go out of Paris, to find the most pleasing and the most gallant sight in the world. Take onely a walk upon the *Pontneuf*, attentively beholding in the day-time all things surrounding you, together with that incredible and strange confusion of people ; and at night the infinite number of lights in the windows, of those high buildings that are round about you ; and the same confusion which continues till after mid-night ; the good citizen, and (which you shall not see in any part of Asia) the fair she-citizen walking without fear of robbers, and without the inconvenience of dirt : and then the long files of stars that brave the wind, the rain and darkness. Take only, I say, such a walk upon that bridge observing all those things together, and then (upon my word) you may boldly maintain it, that you are upon the spot of the fairest, bravest and most magnificent artificial view of the earth, unless it be some part of China or Japan, where I have not been. What will it be then when the Louvre, that work which was once thought would never be seen but in design and upon paper, shall be finish'd. I have purposely added

the word *artificial*, because speaking of the best perspectives that are, we must always except Constantinople, when one is in a boat in the midst of that great channel, over against the point of the seraglio : for *there* you shall find yourself altogether surprized, as 'twere in the midst of some great and vast enchanted amphitheater ; but in this perspective the workmanship of Nature is most considerable, whereas in that of Paris, art and dexterity is most conspicuous, which doubtless renders it more eminent, forasmuch as thereby it looks more like the seat of a great King, the capital of a great Empire, and is really, without flattering ourselves, and all those beauties of Delhi, Agra, and Constantinople, well considered and compared, the fairest, the richest, and the chiefest city of the world.

In Agra the Reverend Fathers the Jesuits have a Church and a Colledge, where in private they teach the children of some twenty five or thirty Christian families, that have (I know not how, gathered and settled themselves there by the charity of those Fathers the Christian doctrine. It was Ekbar who (in the time of the great power of the Portugueses in the Indies) called them, and gave them a pension for their subsistence, permitting them to build Churches in the capital cities of Agra and Lahor. And his son Jehan-Guire favoured them yet more. But Chah-jehan, son of Jehan-Gure, and father of Aureng-Zebe now reigning, took from them their pension, caused their Church at Lahor to be pulled down, and the greatest part of that in Agra, overthrowing also the steeple of the Church, wherein that bell was that could be heard over all the town.

These Fathers the Jusuits entertained great hopes of the progress of Christianity in the time of King Jehan-Guire, because of his contempt of the Mahumetan Law, and the esteem he professed to the Christian, even giving way to two of his nephews to embrace the Christian religion, and to a certain Mirza Zul-Karmin (that had been bred in the seraglio, and was circumcised) to turn Christian too, under the pretence that he born of Christian parents, and son of the wife of a rich Armenian, which Jehan-Guire had caused to be brought to him into the seraglio.

The same Fathers say, that this King, to begin in good earnest to countenance the Christian religion designed to put the whole Court into the habit of the *Iranqui*, and that after he had prepared all things for it, and even dressed himself in that fashion, he called to him one of the chief Officers, asking his opinion of this dress, but that this Officer altogether surprized at it, having answered him very seriously, that it was a very dangerous thing, he thought himself obliged to change his mind, and turned all into raillery.

These Fathers affirm further, that he being upon the point of death, commanded that they should be called to make him a Christian, but that then they were not made acquainted with it. Many say, that this is not so, and that he died as he had lived, without any religion, and in the design he had, as well as his father Ekbar, to set himself up for a Prophet, and to become the head of a particular religion of his own composition. However it be, there is another thing I have learned of a Manumetar, that was son to an officer of Jehan Guire, namely, that this King being one day in a

debauche, called to him a certain religious man of Florence, whom he called Father Atech, as being a little fiery man; and after he had commanded him to say all he could against the Law of Mahumet, and for the Law of Christ, in the presence of many knowing *Mullahs*, he would have made this terrible tryal of both those Laws, viz. that a great pit should be made, and a good fire in it, and that Father Atech with the Gospel under his arm, and one of those *Mullahs* with the *Alcoran* under his, should cast themselves both together into that fire, and that he would embrace the Law of him that should not burn. But that the sad countenance of the *Mullahs*, altogether astonisht, and the compassion he had of the Florentine Father, who accepted the condition, diverted him from it. Whatever the truth be of this story, 'tis certain, that whilst Jehan-Guire lived, these Fathers were respected and honoured in this Court, and that they conceived great hopes of the advancement of Christianity in those parts; but that since that time they had had no great cause to hope much of it, except perhaps what they received by that familiarity, which our Father Buze had with Dara. But I shall say no more of this matter of our Missions, intending to give you a particular long letter of it another time.

Certainly I cannot but exceedingly approve of Missions, and the good Missionaries, especially our Capucian and Jesuits, and some others of our neighbourhood, because they give meek instructions, without that indiscreet zeal and transport which is expressed by some others, and they charitably entertain the Christians of the country in their religion, whether they be Catholics

or Greeks, or Armenians, Nestorians, Jacobites, or others; and for as much also as they are the refuge and comfort of poor strangers and travellers, and by their knowledge, sober and exemplary life, they confound the ignorant and licentious life of the Infidels: which some others do not always practise; who therefore would do better to keep themselves close in their Convents, and not come hither and give us a masquerade of our religion, and by doing so, and by their ignorance, jealousy, looseness, and the abuse of their authority and character, become a stumbling block to the Law of Jesus Christ. But a particular thing infers no general; and notwithstanding those miscarriages, I very much applaud the Missions, and pious learned Missionaries, they are absolutely necessary: it is the honour and prerogative of Christianity, to have every where through the world substitutes of the Apostles. But after all that I have seen, and after all the converse and discourse I have so often had with those obstinate Infidels, I may take leave to say, that I almost despair to see struck such great stracks, as the Apostles did, who converted two or three thousand people in one sermon: finding by experience, and knowing very well upon other accounts, after I have travelled through all the places of the Missions in the east, that all the Missionaries together, not only in the Indies, but in all the Mahumetan dominions, do indeed by their instructions, accompanied with charity and alms, make some progress among the Gentils, but do in ten years not make one Christian of a Mahumetan. Truly these Infidels have high thoughts of our religion, they never speak of Jesus Christ but with great veneration;

and they never pronounce the word *Aysa* that is to say *Jesus*, without adding that of *Azeret*, which is Majesty. They even agree with us, that he was miraculously born of a Virgin-mother, and that he is the *Kelum-Allah*, and the *Rouh-Allah*, the Word of God, and the Spirit of God : but 'tis not to be hoped, that they will approve the rest of our religion, so as to abandon theirs in which they were born, and their false Prophet, to embrace ours, what reason soever be given them. Our Christians of Europe ought to wish, and even to employ their power, care and charity that Missionaries may be sent over all, such as may be no charge to the people of the country, and whom want may not induce to do mean things, as well for the reasons already alledged, as for this cause, that may be ever ready to lay hold on all occasions, always to bear witness to the truth, and labour in the Vineyard when it shall please God to give them an overture. But for the rest we ought to be disabused, and not to suffer ourselves to be so easily perswaded of so many stories, and not to believe the thing to be so facil as some make it. The sect is too much libertine, and too attractive to quit it ; it is a pernicious Law, which hath been introduced by arms and force, and still gets ground by these means : and I hardly know any other way capable to shake and roor it out. If therefore there intervene not some of those grand and extraordinary stroaks of Heaven, and God by His powerful and particular Providence interpose not, (as we ought always to hope, according to the great appearance there have been in China, in Japan, and in the person of King Jehan-Guire) considering the

irreverence of the Christians in their Churches, so dissonant from our belief of the particular presence of God upon our Altars, and so different from that deep and astonishing respect which those infidels bear to their Mosques, where they would not so much as turn their heads, or speak the least word to one another; there will always be great obstacles to their conversion.

In Agra the Hollanders have also an house, where ordinarily they keep four or five persons. Formerly they had a good trade there in selling scarlet, great and small looking glasses, plain lace, and gold and silver lace, and some small wares; and in buying indigo, which is gathered round about Agra, but especially at Bianaes, but two leagues distant from it, and whether they go once a year, having an house there for that purpose; as also in buying those of Jelapour and Laknau, at seven or eight days journey from Agra, where they also keep an house, and whether they send some factors once a year. But now they say, that there is little profit for them in that trade, whether it be that the Armenians drive the same traffick, or that 'tis so far from Agra to Suratte, or that commonly some mischief or other befalls their Caravans, which must pass by Amadavad over all the countries of the Rajas to avoid the ill ways, and the mountains this are on the side of Gculeor and Brampour, which is the rearer way. Yet notwithstanding these discouragements, they will never (I believe) abandon this factory, as the English have done theirs in that place, if it were for nothing else but their spices, which there they sell very well, and for having some of their

people near the Court taking care of their concerns : since it cannot be otherwise, but that frequently some trouble will befall their factories by the tyranny of the Governors and other officers, now from the side of Bengala, and Patna, another time from Surat and Amadavad.

We will conclude this part with those two wonderful *mausolees*, or tombs, that give to Agra so much advantage over Dehli. It was Jehan-Guire that caused the first to be erected to honour the memory of his father Ekbar : and Chah-Jehan raised the other in honour of *Taje-mehale* his wife, that extraordinary and celebrated beauty of the Indies, whom he loved so passionately, that 'tis said, he never enjoyed any other woman but her whilst she lived, and that when she died, he was in danger to die himself.

I shall not stay to discourse of the monument of Ekbar, because whatever beauty is there, is found in a far higher degree in that of *Taje-mehale*, which I am now going to describe unto you. You may therefore represent to yourself, that at the going out of the city of Agra east-ward, you enter into a long and broad paved street, which riseth gently, and hath on one side an high and long wall, making the side of a square garden that is much bigger then our Palace-Royal ; and on the other side a row of new houses arched, such as are those of the principal strees of Dehli above spoken of. Having gone the length of half the wall, you shall find on the right hand of the side of the houses a great gate well made, by which one enters into a Carvan-serah, and over against it on the walls side, a stately gate of a great square pavilion, by which

you enter into the garden between two conservatories built up by freestone. This pavilion is longer than 'tis large, built of a stone like red marble, but not so hard. The frontispiece seems to me very magnificent after their way, and as high as that of St. Louys in the street of St. Antony. It is true, you do not there see columns, archi-traves, and cornishes cut out after the proportion of those five orders of Architecture so religiously observed in our places: it is a different and particular kind of structure, but such an one as wants no agreeableness even in the unusualness of its contrivance, and which in my opinion, would very well deserve a place in our books of Architecture. 'Tis almost nothing but arches upon arches, and galleries over galleries, disposed and ordered an hundred different ways; and yet all appears stately, well enough contrived and managed. There is nothing that offends the eye; on the contrary all is pleasing, and a man cannot be weary in beholding it. The last time I saw it, I was there with one of our French merchants, who also could not behold it enough. I durst not to tell him my thoughts of it, apprehending I might have spoiled my gust, and framed it according to that of Indostan: but he being lately come from France, I was very glad to hear him say, he had never seen any thing so august and bold in Europe.

After you are somewhat entred into the pavilion to pass into the garden, you find yourself under an high vault made like a cap, which hath galleries above round about and below, on the right and left side, two divans or causeys, made up of earth of eight or ten

foot high. Opposite to the gate there is a great arch quite open, by which you enter into an alley, which cuts almost the whole garden into two equal parts. This alley is by way of terrasse so large, as that six coaches can pass on it abreast, paved with great square, of hard stone, raised some eight foot high above the garden-plots, and divided in the middle by a channel walled up with free-stone, having jets of water at certain distances. After you have gone twenty five or thirty paces upon this alley, turning your eye to behold the entry, you see the other face of the pavilion, which though it be not comparable to that which looks to the street; yet wants not its stateliness, being high and of a structure approaching the other. And on both sides of the pavilion, along the wall of the garden, you see a long and profound gallery by way of terrasse, supported by many low columns near one another. And in this gallery 'tis that during the season of the rains, the poor are permitted to enter, who come there thrice a week, receiving alms from a foundation made there by Chah-Jehan for ever.

Advancing further in this alley, you discover at a distance before you a great dome, where is the sepulchre, and below on the right and left hand you see divers alleys of a garden set with trees, and several parterres covered with flowers. And the end of this alley, besides the dome before you, you discover on the right and left two great pavilions, built of the same stone, and consequently looking all red as the first. These are great and spacious square edifices, made by way of terrasse, opening by three arches, and having at the bottom the wall of the garden, so

that you march under them as if they were high and large galleries.

I shall not stay to describe unto you the ornaments within these pavilions, because in respect of their walls, ground-plot, and pavement, they are not much unlike the dome, which I am going to delineate unto you, after I shall have observed, that between the end of the alley (which we have spoken of) and the dome, there is a pretty large space of floor, which I call a water-parterre, because that the diversly cut and figured stones you march upon, are there instead of the box-wood of our parterre. And 'tis from the midst of this parterre, that you may conveniently see a part of this edifice, where sepulchre is, which remains now to be considered.

It is a great and vast dome of white marble, which is near the height of that of our *Val de Grace* in Paris, surrounded with many turrets of the same matter with stairs in them. Four great arches support the whole fabrick, three of which are visible, the fourth is closed in by the wall of an hall, accompanied with a gallery, where certain *Mullahs* (entertained for that end) do continually read the *Alcoran*, with a profound respect to the honour of *Taj-mehalle*. The mould of the arches is enriched with tables of white marble, wherein seen engraven large Arabian characters of black marble, which is very agreeable to behold. The interior or concave part of this dome, and the whole wall from top to bottom is covered with white marble; and there is no place which is not wrought with art, and hath not its peculiar beauty. You see store of Agat, and such sorts of stones, as are employed to

inrich the chappel of the great Duke of Florence ; much Jasper, and many other kinds of rare and precious stones, set a hundred several ways, mixt and enchased in the marble that covers the body of the wall. The quarries of white and black marble, that make the floor, are likewise set out with all imaginable beauty and stateliness.

Under this dome with a little chamber inclosing sepulchre, which I have not seen within, it not being opened but once a year, and that with great ceremony, not suffering any Christian to enter, for fear (as they say) of prophaning the sanctity of the place : but really by what I could learn, because it hath nothing rich or magnificent in it.

There remains nothing else, then to give you occasion to take notice of an alley in the fashion of a terrasse, twenty or twenty five ordinary paces large, and as many or more high ; which is betwixt the dome and the extremity of the garden, whence you see below you, at the foot of it, the river of Gemna running along, a great campagne of gardens, a part of the town of Agra the fortress, and all those fair houses of the Onrahs that are built along the water. There remains no more, I say, then to cause you to observe this terrass*, which taketh up almost the whole length of one side of the garden, and then to desire you to judge, whether I had reason to say, that the *mansoleum* or tomb of *Taje-mehalle*, is something worthy to be admired. For my part, I do not yet well know, whether I am not somewhat infected still with Indianisme but I must needs say, that I believe it ought to be reckoned amongst the wonders of the world, rather than

those unshapen masses of the Ægyptian Pyramids, which I was weary to see after I had seen them twice, and in which I find nothing without, but pieces of great stones ranged in the form of steps one upon another, and within nothing but very little art and invention. .

A LETTER WRITTEN TO MR. *CHAPELAIN*, SENT FROM *CHIRAS* IN *PERSIA*, OCTOB. 4. 1667. CONCERNING THE SUPERSTITIONS, STRANGE FASHIONS, AND DOCTRIN OF THE NATIVE INDIES, OR GENTILES OF *INDOSTAN*. WHENCE MAY BE SEEN, THAT THERE ARE NO OPINIONS SO RIDICULOUS, AND SO EXTRA-VAGANT, WHICH THE SPIRIT OF MAN IS NOT CAPABLE OF.

SIR,

IF I should live whole ages, I know not whether I could ever forget those two eclipses of the sun, of which I saw one in France in the year 1654, and the other Indies at Dehli in the year 1666, if I remember aright. The former seemed very remarkable to me upon the account of the childish credulity of our common people; and of that pannick terror which had so seized the heart, that some bought drugs against the eclipse; others kept themselves close in the dark in their caves, and their well-closed chambers; others cast themselves in great multitudes into the Churches: those apprehending some malign and dangerous and

influence, and these believing that they were come to their last day, and that the eclipses would shake the foundation of nature, and overturn it, notwithstanding any thing that the Gassendi's, Robervals, and many other famous philosophers could say or write against this perswasion, when they demonstrate, that this eclipse was of the same nature with so many others that had preceded without any mischief, and that it was a known accident, foreseen and ordinary, which had nothing peculiar, but what some cheating astrological mountebanks might have devised.

That which I saw at Dehu seemed also very considerable to me, by reason of the ridiculous errors and superstitions of the Indians. At the time when the said eclipse was to appear, I went up to the terrasse of my house, which was situate on the side of the river Gemna, thence I saw both sides of the river, for near a league in length, covered with the Heathen idolaters, that stood in the water up to their girdle, demurely looking up into the sky, to the end that they might plunge and wash themselves at the moment when the eclipse should begin. The little boys and girls were stark naked; the men were almost so too, but that they had a kind of scarf round about their thighs to cover their nakedness: and the married women, together with the young maids that were not above six or seven years old, were covered with a single cloth. Persons of condition, as the Rajas, or Sovereign Princes of those Gentils, (who commonly are about the person, and in the pay of the King) and the *Serrâhs* or exchangers, the bankers, jewellers, and and other great merchants, were most of them gone to

the other side of the water with all their family, and had there put up their tents, and fastned in the river certain *Kanutes*, which are a kind of skreens, to perform their ceremonies, and conveniently to wash themselves with their wives, so as not to be seen by others. These idolaters no sooner saw the eclipse begin, but they raised a great cry, and all at once plunged themselves wholly into the water, I know not how many times one after another; standing up afterwards in the water, and lifting up their eyes and hands to heaven, muttering and praying with great devotion, and from time to time taking water with their hands, which they threw up towards the sun, bowing down then heads very low, moving and turning their arms and hands sometimes one way, sometimes another, and thus continuing their plunging, praying and apishness unto the end of this eclipse; at which time every one retired, casting some pieces of silver a good way off into the water, and giving alms to the Brachmans or men of the Law, who failed not be at that ceremony. I took notice, that at their going out of the water, they all took new cloathes that were laid ready for them folded up on the sand, and that many of the devouter sort left there their old garments for the Brachman. And in this manner did I see from my terrace this great solemnity of the eclipse, which was celebrated after the same manner in the river Indus and Ganges, and in all the other rivers, as also in the receives of water in the Indies, but especially in that of the Tanaitar, where were met together above an hundred and fifty thousand persons, come together from all parts of the Indies, because the water of it is on that

day reputed more holy and efficacious than on any other.

The Great Mogol, though he be a Mahumétan, suffers these Heathens to go on in these old superstitions, because he will not, or dareth not cross them in the exercise of their religion, and besides it is not performed without presenting him, by the hands of the Brachmans-as Commissioners, a *Lecque* or an hundred thousand Roupies, which are worth above fifty thousand crowns, for which he returns nothing but a few vests and an old elephant. Now you shall see those solid reasons (for sooth) which they alledge for this feast, and for the ceremonies by them observed in it.

We have (say they) our four *Beths* that is, books of the Law, Secred and Divine writings, given us by God through the hands of *Brahma*. These books do teach us that a certain *Deuta*, which is a kind of corporeal divinity, very malign and mischievous, very black and very filthy (these are their own expressions in their language) seizeth on the sun, blackens it as 'twere with ink, and so darkens it: that this sun, which is also a *Deuta*, but of the best and the most beneficent and perfect divinities, is at that time in very great pains and terrible anguish, to himself thus seized on and misused by that black villain: that 'tis a general duty to endeavour to deliver him from this miserable condition; which cannot be effected but by the force of prayers, washings and alms, and that these actions are of a very extraordinary merit to such a degree, that an alms, given at that time is worth an hundred given at another, Who is there, say they, and would not give *cent pour cent*?

Sir, these are the two eclipses I spoke of which I shall hardly ever forget, and which minister occasion to me to proceed to some other extravagancies of these Gentils, whence you may draw what consequences you shall please.

In the town of Jagannat, which is seated upon the Gulf of Bengala, and where is that famous Temple of the Idol of the same name, there is yearly celebrated a certain feast, which lasts eight or nine days, if I remember well. There is found an incredible number of people, as there was antiently in the Temple of Hammon, and as 'tis at this day at Mecca. This number, 'tis said, amounts sometimes to above an hundred and fifty thousand persons. They make a stately engin of wood, as I have seen of them in many other places of the Indies, with I know not how many extravagant figures, almost such as we are wont to paint monsters with two heads or bodies, half man and half beast, or gigantick and terrible heads, satyrs, apes or devils, which engin is put upon fourteen or sixteen wheels, such as the carriages of cannons may be, which fifty or sixty persons more or less do draw, or thrust forwards. Upon the middle of it appears most conspicuously the Idol Jagannat, richly dressed and adorned, which is thus transported from one place to another.

The first day that they shew this Idol with ceremony in the Temple, the crowd is usually so great to see it, that there is not a year, but some of those poor pilgrims that come afar off, tired, and harassed, are suffocated there; all the people blessing them for having been so happy, as to die on so holy an occasion. And when this hellish triumphant chariot marcheth, there are

found (which is no fable) persons so foolishly credulous and superstitious as to throw themselves with their bellies under those large and heavy wheels, which bruise them to death, having suffered themselves to be perswaded, that there is no action . so heroick nor so meritorious as that, and that Jagannat will at the same time receive them as his children, and cause them to be born again in a state of felicity and glory.

The Brachmans for their particular advantage and interest, I mean that of alms and respect given to them as persons devoted to these mysteries, do entertain the people in these errors and superstitions, and they proceed even to such infamous cheats and villanies that I could never have believed them, if I had not fully informed my self of it. These impostors take a young maid, of the fairest they can meet with, to be the bride (as they speak, and bear the besotted people in hand) of Jagannat, and they leave her all night in the Temple (whither they have carried her) with the Idol, making her believe that Jagannat himself will come and embrace her, and appointing her to ask him, whether it will be a fruitful year, what kind of processions, feasts, prayers and alms he demands to be made for it. In the meantime one of these lustful priests enters at night by a little back-door into the Temple, deflowreth this young maid, and maketh her believe any thing he pleaseth ; and the next day, being transported from this Temple into another with the same magnificence, she was carried before upon the chariot of triumph on the side of Jagannat her bridegroom ; these Brachmans make her say aloud before all the people, whatsoever she had been taught of

these cheats, as if she had learnt it from the very mouth of Jagannat. But let us go on (if you please) to follies of another kind.

Before this chariot, and often in the very Temples of the Idols, on festival days, you shall see publick women dance, making an hundred indecent and extravagant postures ; and yet the Brachmans find a way to accord all that with their religion. I have seen some women, that are not only famous for their beauty, but also for great reservedness, which refused very considerable present of certain Mahumetans and Christians, and even of Heathen strangers, as if they were only dedicated to the ministry and the ministers of *Deura*, or the Idol Temple to the Brachmans and these *Fakires*, which are there seated most of them upon ashes round about, altogether naked with their tearful hair of *Megera*, and in the posture I shall speak of hereafter. But let us stay no longer upon these follies.

There are so many writers of voyages relating the custom of the Indian women, burning themselves with their husbands, that I think something will at last be believed of it. For my part, I am going to take my turn also, and to write to you of it like others ; yet in the meantime observing withall, that 'tis not all true what is said of it, and that now they do not burn themselves in so great a number as formerly, because the Mahumetans, that bear sway at present in Indostan, are enemies to that barbarous custome, and hinder it as much as they can ; not opposing it absolutely, because they are willing to leave their idolatrous people, who are far more numerous then themselves,

in the free exercise of their religion, for fear of some revolt : but by indirectly preventing it, in that they oblige the women, ready to burn themselves, to go and ask permission of the respective Governors who send for them, make converse with their own women, remonstrate things to them with annexed promises, and never give them this permission, but after they have tryed all these gentle ways, and till they find them fixt in their sottish resolution. Which yet hinders not but that many burn themselves, especially of those that live upon the lands of the Rajas, where no Mahumetan Governors are. I shall not stay to give you the history of all those, which I have seen burn themselves ; that would too be long, and too tedious : I shall only relate unto you two or three examples of them, whence you may judge of the rest ; but first you shall have the relation of a women, which I was sent unto to divert her from such a mischievous design.

A friend of mine, called Bendidas, the first clerk of my *Agah* Danechmend-kan, died of an hec tick, having been treated by me above two years. His wife immediately resolv'd to burn herself, together with the body of her husband ; but her parents, by the order of *Agah*, whose servants they were, endeavour'd to dissuade her from it, representing to her, that though it were indeed a generous and laudable resolution, and would be a great honour and happiness in the family, yet she ought to consider, that her children were yet little, that she could not abandon them, and that she was to prefer their good, and the affection she had for them, to the love she had for her

and to her own satisfaction. These parents not having been able to prevail with her by all these representations, bethought themselves to desire me to go to her, as sent from my *Agak*, and as an antient friend to the family. I went and when I came, I did, as soon as I come in, see a cluster of seven or eight fearful old women, together with four or 5 infatuated and brain-sick Brachmans, who all cried by turns, beating their hands about the dead corps, and the widow in her loose hair looking pale, yet with dry and sparkling eyes, sitting and crying also aloud, and beating her hands, as the rest with a kind of cadency, upon the feet of her husband. The out-cry and noise being ended, I approach'd to this company of people, and addressing my self to the widow, I gave her softly to understand, that I come from Danechmend-kan; that he had appointed a monthly pension of two crowns, to each of her two sons, but on condition that she should not burn her self, to the end. that she might take care of them, and breed them up as was fit; that else we knew ways enow to hinder her from burning herself, if she were obstinate for it, and to make those repent, that should allure and incite her to such an unreasonable resolution, especially since none of her kindred satisfied with it, and that she would not be counted infamous, as those are that want the resolution to burn themselves after the death of their husband, when they have no children. I often inculcated to her all these considerations without hearing a word of answer from her; though at last she said, looking fiercely upon me: "Well, if I am hindred to burn my self, I am resolved to break my head against the wall." Then said I by

my self ; " What diabolical fury doth possess thee ?" And to her I answer'd full of indignation : " Then take thy children, thou unhappy creature, and cut their throats and burn them with thee ; for they will be starved, I being now ready to return to Danechmend-kan, and to annull their pension." These words being spoken by me, with the loudest and most menacing tone I could, made imporession upon the spirit of this woman, and upon that of all the assistants : she presently, without any reparty, let her head sink down upon her knees, and most of the old women and Brachmans went away. Whereupon her relations, that were come with me, entred and parlied with her. And I, thinking I had done enough, took horse, and came away to my lodgings, supposing they would do the rest well enough. In short, about evening, when I was going to give an account to my *Agah* of what I had done, I met with her parents, who thank'd me, and said, that the dead corps had been burnt, and the widow perswaded to remain alive.

Concerning the women that have actually burn'd themselves, I have so often been present at such dreadful spectacles, that at length I could endure no more to see it, and I retain still some horror when I think on't. Yet I shall represent to you some of them, but pretend not to express to the life, with what courage and resolution these poor women atchieved such a direful tragedy ; for there is nothing but the eye it self that can exhibit a right idea thereof.

When I was passing from Amadevad to Agra, over the lands of the Rajas, that are in those parts, there came news to us in a burrough, where the caravane rested

under the shade (staying for the cool of the evening, to march on in their journey) that a certain woman was there upon the point of burning her self with the body of her husband. I presently rose and ran to the place where it was to be done, which was a great pit, with a pile of wood raised in it, whereon I saw laid a dead corps, and a woman, which at a distance seem'd to me pretty fair, sitting near it on the same pile; besides four or five Brachmans, putting the fire to it from all sides; five women of a middle age, and well enough dressed, holding one another by the hand, and dancing about the pit, and a great crowd of people, men and women, looking on. The pile of wood was presently all on fire, because store of oyl and butter had been thrown upon it, and I saw at the same time through the flames, that the fire took hold of the cloaths of the woman, that were imbued with well-scented oyls mingled with powder of saital and saffron. All this I saw, but observed not, that the woman was at all disturbed; yea, it was said, that she had been heard to pronounce with great force these two words, *Five, Two*, to signifie, according to the opinion of those that hold the souls transmigration, that this was the 5th time she had brunt herself with same husband, and that there remain'd but two times for perfection; as if she had at that time this remembrance, or some propheticall spirit. But here ended not this infernal tragedy: I thought it was only by way of ceremony, that these five women sung and danced about the pit; but I was altogether surprised, when I saw that the flame having taken hold of the cloaths of one of them, she cast herself with her head foremost into the pit,

and that after her, another, being overcome by the flame and smoak did the like: and my astonishment redoubled afterwards, when I saw, that the remaining three took one another again by the hand, continued their dance without any apparent fear, and that at length they precipitated themselves, one after another into the fire, as their companions had done. It troubled me sufficiently, that I knew not what that meant; but I learnt shortly after, that these had been five slaves, who, having seen their mistress extremely afflicted at the sickness of her husband, and heard her promise him, that she would not survive him, but burn herself with him, were so touch'd with compassion and tenderness towards this their mistress, that they engaged themselves in a promise to follow her in her resolution, and to burn themselves with her. Many persons, whom I then consulted about this custome of women burning themselves with the bodies of their husbands, would perswade me, that what they did was from an excess of affection they had for them: but I understood afterwards, that it was only an effect of opinion, prepossession and custome: and that the mothers, from their youth besotted with this superstition, as of a most vertuous and most laudable action, such as was unavoidable to a woman of honour, did also inflatuate the spirit of their daughters from their very infancy: although, at the bottom, it was nothing else but an art of the men, the more to enslave their wives, thereby to make them have the more care of their health, and prevent poisoning of them.

But let us proceed to another tragedy, which I

shall rather represent to you than many others, at which I have been present, because it hath something uncommon in it. 'Tis true, I was not there myself; but you may do as I, who do not stand out against crediting these things, because I have seen so many of them which seem'd incredible to me. This action is grown so famous in the Indies, that no body doubts of it, and it may be, that even yourself have already heard of it in Europe.

'Tis of a woman, that was engaged in some love-intrigues with a young Mahumetan her neighbour, that was a tailor, and could play finely upon the tabor. This woman in the hopes she had of marrying this young man, poison'd her husband, and presently came away to tell her tailor, that it was time to be gone together as they had projected, or else that she should be obliged to burn herself. The young man fearing, lest he might be entangled in a mischievous business, flatly refused her. The woman, not at all surprized at it, went to her relations, and advertised them of the sudden death of her husband, and openly protested that she would not survive him, but burn herself with him. Her kindred well satisfied with so generous a resolution, and the great honour she did to the whole family, presently had a pit made, and filled with wood, exposing the corps upon it, and kindling the fire. All being prepar'd, the woman goes to embrace and bid farewell to all her kindred that were there about the pit, among whom was also the tailor, who had been invited to play upon the tabor that day, with many others of that sort of men, according to the custom of the country. This fury of a woman being also come

to this young man, made as if she would bid him farewell with the rest ; but in stead of gently embracing him, she taketh him with all her force about his collar, pulls him to the pit, and tumbleth him together with herself into the ditch, where they both were soon dispatch't.

She which I saw burn her self, when I parted from Suratte to travel into Persia, in the presence of Monsieur Chardin and Paris, and of many English and Dutch, was of a middle age and not unhandsome. To represent unto you the undaunted chearfulness, that appear'd in her countenance. the resolution with which she marched, wash'd herself, spoke to the people ; the confidence with which she look'd upon us, view'd her little cabin, made up of very dry millet-straw and small wood, went into this cabin, and sate down upon the pile, and took her husband's head into her lap, and a torch into her own hand. kindled the cabin whilst I know not how many Brachmans were busie in kindling the fire round about : to represent unto you, I say, all this, as it ought, is not possible for me ; I can at present scarce believe it myself, though it be a few days since I saw it.

'Tis true, that I have seen some of them, which at the sight of the pile and fire, appear'd to have some apprehension, and that perhaps would have gone back, but 'tis often too late : those demons, the Brachmans, that are there with their great sticks, astonish them, and hearten them up, or even thrust them in ; as I have seen it done to a young woman that retreated five or six paces from the pile, and to another that was much disturbed when she saw fire take

hold of her cloaths, these executioners thrusting her in with their long poles. Yet I have often seen one, that is still a handsome woman, and had saved her self out of their hands, falling into the hands of the Gadous, that sometimes meet their in great numbers, when they know that 'tis some fair and young woman that is to be burnt, and that hath no great kindred, nor much company with her: for the women that are afraid of the pile, and fly away from it, knowing that they cannot be received again amongst the Gentiles, nor live with them, because they repute them infamous, after they have committed such a fault, and brought such a disgrace upon their religion, such women, I say, are ordinarily the prey of this kind of men, who are also counted infamous in the Indies, and that have nothing to loose. A Mogolian durst not save, nor receive any, for fear of bringing himself into great trouble. Some Portugueses living in sea-ports where they were strongest, have sometimes carried away some of them. For my part, I have often been so enraged against those Brahmans, that if I durst, I had strangled them. I remember, among others, that at Lahor, I saw a very handsome and a very young woman burn'd: I believe she was not above twelve years of age. This poor unhappy creature appear'd rather dead then alive, when she came near the pile; she shook, and wept bitterly: meantime three or four of these executioners, the Brachman, together with an old hag, that held her under the arm, thrust her on, and made her sit down upon the wood, and least she should run away, they tied her legs and hands, and so burn'd her alive. I had enough to do to contain my

self for indignation ; but I was forced to content myself with detesting this horrid religion, and to say by my self, what the poet once said of such another, upon the occasion, of Iphigenia, whom her own father Agamemnon sacrificed to Diana, for the interest of the Grecians, amongst whom he was one of the principal leaders.

————— *Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum !*

These are certainly very barbarous and very cruel customes, but that which the Brahmans do in some other places of the Indies is yet more so : for instead of burning those women that will dye upon the death of their husbands, they bury them in the ground alive up to the very throat, and then two or three of them fall at once upon them, and wring their neck round, and so choak them, covering them quickly with some earth, and then marching over their heads. But let us pass to some other customes of those countries.

Most of the Gentiles burn their dead ; but some there are, that do no more than with some straw broil them on a rivers side, casting them thereupon from the height of a steep bank into the water : which I have often seen upon the river Ganges.

Some of these Gentiles there are, who, when they perceive a sick person near death carry him to the side of a river (at which barbarous action I have been once present) and then first put his feet into the water, and afterwards let him slide down as far as to his throat, and then when they think he is now expiring, they sink him quite under water, and there leave him, after they have made a great clamour, and clapping

with their hands : and this, say they, to the end that the soul leaving the body may be wash'd from all the impurities, she may have contracted in the body. And this is not only a reason given by the vulgar ; for I have spoken with the most learned of them, who deliver'd the same great seriousness. But let us go on to other extravagancies.

Amongst that vast number and great variety of *Fakires*, *Derviches*, or religious Heathens of the Indies, there is abundance of them that have Convents, in which there are superiours, and wherein they make certain vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, leading so odd a life, that I doubt whether you can give credit to it. These are commonly called *Jauguns*, as if you should say, United to God. You shall see many of them sit stark naked, or lie days and nights upon ashes, and commonly enough, under some of those large trees, that are on the sides of the *Talabs* or ponds, or else in those galleries that are about their *Deuras* or Idol-temple. Some of them have their hair hanging down to the middle of their legs, and that wreathed into several parcels, as the large main of our barbes, or rather as the hair of those that have the sickness of Poland called the *Plica*. Of these I have seen some in divers places, who held one arm, and sometimes both, lifted up perpetually above their heads, and that had at the end of their fingers wreathed nails that were longer by measure than half my little finger. Their arms were small and lean as of hectic persons, because they took not sufficient nourishment in that forced posture, and they could not let them down to take any thing with them, either meat or drink, because

the nerves were retired, and the joints were filled and dried up; wherefore also they have young novices, that serve them as holy men with very great respect. There is no *Mege* in hell so terrible to look on, as those men are, all naked, with their black skin, long hair, dried arms, and in the posture mention'd, and with crooked nails.

I have often met in the field, especially upon the lands of the Rajas, whole squadrons of these *Faquires*, altogether naked, dreadful to behold. Some held their arms lifted up in the posture mention'd; others had their terrible hair hanging about them, or else they had wreathed them about their head, some had a kind of Hercules's club in their hand, others had dry and stiff tiger-skins over their shoulders. I saw them pass thus quite naked, without any shame, through the midst of a great burrough, I admired how men, women, and children could look upon them so indifferently, without being moved on more than if we should see pass some Eremite through our streets; and how the women brought them almes with much devotion, taking them for very holy men, much wiser and better than others.

I have seen for a long while a very famous one in Dehli, called Sarmet, who went thus stark naked along the streets, and who at length would rather suffer his neck to be cut off, than to put on any cloaths, what promises or menaces soever Aureng-Zebe might send to him.

I have seen many of them, who out of devotion went on pilgrimages, not only altogether naked, but charged with iron-chains, like those that are put about

the legs of elephants. Others, who, out of a particular vow, stood for seven or eight days upright upon their legs, which thereupon swell'd as big as their thighs, without sitting or lying down, or without reposing themselves otherwise than leaning some hours of the night upon a stretched cord: others, who stood for whole hours upon their hands without wavering, the head down, and the feet upward: and so of many others sorts of postures so constrain'd, and so difficult, that we have no tumbler able to immitate them; and all this it seems upon the account of religion, of which yet their appears not the least shadow in it.

All these so extraordinary things did (to tell you the truth) exceedingly surprize me at first, I knew not what to say or think of it. Sometimes I look'd upon them as a remainder, or rather as the authors of that antient and infamous sect of the Cynicks, but only that I found nothing in them, but brutality and ignorance, and that they seem'd to me a kind of trees, somewhat moving from one place to another, rather than rational animals. Another time I consider'd them as men altogether enthusiastical; though as I lately said, I could not find any shadow of true piety in all they did. Sometimes I thought, that this lazy, idle, and independent life of beggars might have something attractive in it. Sometimes I imagin'd that the vanity which creeps in every where, and which is as often found under the patched mantle of Diogenes, as under the comely garment of Plato, there might lurk that spring, which might set a going so many engines; and then reflecting withal upon the miserable and austere

life they led, I knew not what judgment to make of them.

'Tis true, that many say, that they do not exercise these strange austerities but in the hopes they entertain of becoming Rajas in their renascence, or of returning again in a more happy life. But, as I have often told them to their faces, how is't possible for any man to resolve upon such a miserable life from the hope of another, that is to be no longer, and hath also, in the upshot, but very little happiness in it, though one should return a Raja, and even a Jeseigne or a Jessom-seigne, which are the two most puissant Rajas of the Indies? There must needs, said I, lie something else under it, which you have no mind to discover to us, or you must be arrant fools.

Amongst those I have been speaking of, there are that are believed to be true saints, illuminated and perfect *Janguis*, entirely united to God. These are people that have altogether abandon'd the world, and sequester'd themselves into some very remote corner or garden, like Eremites, without ever coming to town. If you carry them any meat, they receive it; if they do not, 'tis believed that they can live without it, and subsist by the sole favour of God in perpetual fasting, prayer, and profound meditations: for they sink themselves so deep into these raptures, that they spend many hours together in being insensible, and beholding in that time, as they give out, God himself, like a very bright and ineffable light, with an unexpressible joy and satisfaction, attended with an entire contempt and forsaking of the world: for thus much one of them, that pretended he could enter into this rapture when he pleased, and

had been often in it, told me ; and other that are about them, affirm the thing with so much seriousness, that they seem to beleive in earnest, as if there were no imposture in it. God alone knows whether there be any truth in it, and whether in this solitude and fasting the imagination debilitated, may not suffer it^self to be carried away kind into these illusions : or whether they be not of that of natural raptures, into which Cardan said he fell when he listed : and this the rather, because I see, there is used some art in what they do, forasmuch as they prescribe to themselves certain rules, by little and little to blind up their senses : for they say, for example, that after they have fasted many days, using nothing but bread and water, 'tis requisite first to keep themselves alone retired from all company, directing the eyes steadily towards heaven for a while, then gently casting them down again, and then fixing them both so as to look at one and the same time upon the tip of their nose equally, and as much on one side as the other (which is troublesome enough) and remaining firm and intent in that posture, until such a light do come. Whatever the matter be, I know, that these raptures, and these ways of falling into them, make the great mystery of the Cabala of *Jauguis*, as the *Soufys* do also. I call it mystery, because they keep it very secret amongst them ; and if it had not been for this *Pendet* or Indian Doctor, to whom Danechmendkan gave a pension, and who durst hide nothing from him ; and if also Danechmendkan had not known the mysteries of the Cabala of the *Soufys* I should not have discover'd so much of it. * I know besides, that as for

the extremity of poverty, of fastings and austerities, that also can do much to it. We must not think (or I am much deceived) that any of our religious Fryars or Eremites go in this point beyond those men; nor generally byond all the Asiatic Monks; witness the life and fastings of the Armenians, Copththes, Greeks, Nestorians, Jacobites, and Maronites. We must rather avow, that we are but novices, when compared with those religious men: but then we must also acknowledge, according to what I have experimented, in respect of those of the Indies, that they can much more easily bear hunger than we can in our colder climates.

There are others very differing from those, but very strange men likewise; they are almost perpetually travelling up and down, they deride all, take care of nothing, men that brag of secrets, and who, as the people say, know no less than to make gold, and so admirably to prepare mercury, that a grain or two of it taken every morning restoreth the body to perfect health, and so strengthens the stomach, that it feeds greedily and digests with ease. This is not all when two of these *Jauguis*, that are eminent, do meet, and you stir them up in the point and power of their knowledge or *Jaugisme*, you shall see them do such tricks out of spight to one another, that I know not whether Simon Magus could have out-done them. For they divine what one thinketh, make the branch of a tree blossom and bear fruit in less than an hour, hatch eggs in their bosome in less than half a quarter of an hour, and bring forth such birds as you demand, which they make fly about the chamber, and many

such other prodigies. I mean, if what is said of them be true; for I remember, that one day my *Agah* sent for one of these famous diviners, and when he was come, agreed with him to give him the next day 300 Roupies, which is about 150 crowns, if he should tell him, as he said he would, his present thought, which he was to write before him upon a paper: as also, that I my self made a bargain with the same, to give him 25 Roupies, if he should divine mine; but the prophet failed us, as also did at another time one of those pretended producers of birds, to whom I had also promised 20 Roupies. I am still to be understood, if it be true what is said of them. For, as for me, I am with all my curiosity none of those happy men, that are present at, and see those great feats; and if I should chance to see any of such things as are thought strange, I am always considering and seeking, whether the thing may not be done by some juggle, art, or trick of legerdemain: and I am sometimes even so unhappy, or, if you will, so fortunate, as to find out the cheat, as I did him, that made a cup run, to discover who it was, that had stolen money from my *Agah*.

Lastly, there are some in many places, that are quite of another way than all those I have discoursed of. Their life and their devotion is more meek and more polisht; they go over the streets bare-foot and bare-headed, girt about with a scarfe hanging down to their knees, and having a white sheet which passeth under their right arm, and comes out over their left shulder like a cloak, without other cloathis under it. They are always very clean and neat in all things, and commonly go two and two together with great modesty,

holding in their hand a small earthen trevet with two handles, very neat. They do not go gossiping from shop to shop, as many of the other *Fakires* do. They go freely every where into the houses of the Gentiles, where they are welcome, and much made of; they being esteem'd a blessing to the house. They are by no means to be accused of any thing, though it be well enough known, what in such visits among the women passeth. But 'tis the custom, they are in possession of being Saints for all that, and any house thinks it self honour'd with their visit. But is not only there so; many other places there be in the world, where things are not so strictly look'd to. But that which I find most ridiculous in those people is., that they are impertinent enough, to compare themselves with our religious men, they meet with in the Indies. I have often taken pleasure to catch of them, using much ceremony with them and giving them great respect; but I soon heard them say to one another, "this *Franguis* knows who we are, he hath been a great while in the Indies, he knows that we are the *Padrys* of the Indians." "A fine comparison," said I within my self, "made by an impertinent and idolatrous rabble of men!"

But we stay too long upon these Heathen-beggars: let us go on to their books of Law and Sciences: you may afterwards judge, whether most of what I am going to say of it, may be put, as I think it may, in the number of extravagancies.

Do not wonder, if, though I know not the *Hanscrit*, the language of the learn'd (of which somewhat may be said hereafter, and which is perhaps the same with that of old Brahmans) do notwithstanding tell you

many things taken out of books written in that tongue. For you must know, that my *Agah* Danechmend-kan, partly upon my solicitation, partly out of his own curiosity, took into his service one of the famoussest *Pendets* that was in all the Indies, and that formerly had a pension of Dara, the eldest son of King Chah-Jehan; and that this *Pendet*, besides that he drew to our house all the most learned *Pendets*, was for three years constantly of my conversasion. When I was weary of explaining to my *Agah* those late discoveries of Harvey and Pécquet in *Anatomy*, and of discoursing with him of the Philosophy of Gassendi and Descartes, which I translated to him into Persian (for that was my chief employment for five or six years) that *Pendet* was our refuge, and then he was obliged to discourse, and to relate unto us his stories, which he deliver'd seriously and without ever smiling. 'Tis true that at last we were so much disgusted with his tales and uncouth reasonings, that we scarce had patience left to hear them.

They say then, that God, whom they call *Achar*, that is to say, Immoveable or Immutable, hath sent them four books, which they call *Beths*, a word signifying Science, because they pretend that in these books all Sciences are comprehended. The first of these books is call'd *Athen-babed*, the second *Zager-bed*, the third *Rek-bed*, the fourth *Sama-bed*. Conform to the doctrine of these books, the people ought to be distinguish't, as really they are, into four tribes: the first is of Brachmans, men of the law; the second of *quetterys*, men of arms; the third, men of *Bescue* or traffick, commonly called *banians*; and the fourth]

men of *Seydra*, that is, handy-crafts men and labourers. And these are so discriminated, that those of one tribe cannot marry into another, that is, a Brahman cannot marry with a woman Quettery, and so of the rest.

They all agree in one doctrine, which is that of Pythagoras concerning the Metempsychosis or Transmigration of Souls, and in this, that they must not kill or eat of any animal. However there are some of the second tribe that may eat of them, provided it be neither cows nor peacocks-flesh, they all having a great veneration for these two creatures, especially the cow, because they fancy I know not what river lying between this life and that to come, which they are to pass by holding themselves fast on a cows-tail. Possibly their ancient Legislators had seen these shepherds of Egypt, crossing the Nile, by holding with their left-hand the tail of an oxe, and in their right-hand a stick to guide him with ; or rather they have imprinted in them this respect for cows, because they draw from them milk and butter, which is a great part of their subsistence ; and because also they are so serviceable for the plough, and consequently for the life of man ; and that the rather because it is not so in the Indies as in our parts, for maintaining so great a number of cattle as we do : if but half as many of them should be killed in the Indies, as there in England or France, the country will quickly be destitute of them, and the land remain untilled. The heat is there so violent for eight months of the year, that all is dry, and that oxen and cows are often starved, or dye of eating trash in the fields like hogs. And 'tis upon the account of the scarcity of cattle, that in the

time of Jehan-Guire, the Brahmins obtain'd an edict, that no cattle should be kill'd for a certain number of years, and that of late they presented a petition to Aureng-Zebe, and offered him a considerable sum, if he would make the like prohibition they remonstrated, that for 50 or 60 years past much land had remain'd unploughed, because the oxen and cows were become too scarce and too dear. It may be also, that these law-givers considered, that cows and ox-flesh in the Indies is not very savoury, nor wholesome, unless it be for a little time in winter, during the cooler season : or lastly, that they would take the people off from mutual cruelty, (to which they were too much inclined) by obliging them, as by

maxime of religion, to exercise humanity to the very beasts, and by making them believe, that killing or eating an animal, it might happen that they did kill or eat one of their grand-sires ; which would be an horrid crime.

According to the doctrine of these *Beths*, they are obliged to say their prayers at least thrice every day, in the morning, at noon, and at night, with their face turned to the east. They are also bound to wash their whole body thrice, or at least before they eat ; and they believe, that 'tis more meritorious to wash themselves in running water taken in any other. And it may be, that the Legislators in this point also have had a respect to what is proper and convenient for this country, where nothing is more desirable then washing and bathing. And they find it troublesome enough to observe this Law, when they are in cold countries : I have seen some of them that were like to die, because

they would there also observe their law of washing their body by plunging themselves into rivers or ponds, when they found any near ; or by throwing whole buckets of water over their heads, when they were remote from them. When I told them upon occasion, that in cold countries it would not be possible to observe that Law of theirs in winter (which was a sign of its being a meer human invention) they gave this pleasant answer : that they pretended not their Law was universal ; that God had only made it for them, and it was therefore that they could not receive a stranger into their religion : that they thought not our religion was therefore false, but that it might be it was good for us, and that God might have appointed several differing ways to go to Heaven ; but they will not hear that our religion should be the General Religion for the whole earth, and theirs a fable and pure device.

These same books do teach them, that God having determined to create with world, would not execute it immediately, but made first three perfect beings : the first was *Brahma*, which signifieth penetrating into all things ; the second *Beschen*, that is existing in all things ; and the third *Mehahden*, that is, Great Lord. That by the means of *Brahma* he created the world, by the means of *Beschen* he preserveth it, and by the means of *Mehahden* he will destroy it. That it is *Brahma*, who by the command of God did publish the four *Beths*, and that herefore he is in some of their Churches represented with four heads.

As to those three beings, I have seen some European Missionaries that were of opinion, that these Gentils had some idea of the mystery of the *Trinity* ;

and said, it was expresly contained in their books that there are three persons, and one only God. For my part, I have made the *Pendets* sufficiently discourse upon this point ; but they declare themselves so poorly, that I could not clearly understand their sense. I have even heard some of them, who said, that these are three creatures very perfect, which they called *Deutas*. yet without explaining well what they understood by this word *Deutas* ; as our antient Idolaters never explained what they meant by these words *Genius* and *Numina*, which is (I think) the same with *Deuta* among the Indians. 'Tis true, that I have spoken with others of the most knowing amongst them, who said, that these three beings were indeed nothing but one and the same God, considered three manner of way, *viz.* as he is the Producer, Conservator, and Destroyer of things ; but they said nothing of three distinct persons in one onely Deity.

Moreover I have seen the Reverend Father Roa, a German Jesuit and Missionary at Agra, who being well versed in their *Hanskrit*, maintained that their books did not onely import, there was one God in three persons, but that even the second person of their *Trinity* was incarnated nine times. And that I may not be thought to ascribe to my self the writings of others, I shall relate unto you word for word, what a certain Carmelite of Chiras hath lighted upon, which he related when the above-mentioned Father Roa passed that way to come back to Rome. The Gentils (saith he) do hold, that the second person of the *Trinity* was incarnated nine times, and that because of divers necessities of the world, from which he hath delivered it : but the

eighth incarnation is the most notable ; for they hold that the world being inslaved under the power of giants, it was redeemed by the second person, incarnated and born of a Virgin at midnight, the Angels singing in the air, and the Heavens pouring down a shower of flowers all that night. This savours much of Christianity : but then there follows a fable again, which is, that this God incarnate killed first of all a giant that flew in the air, and was so big as to obscure the sun, and by his fall to make the earth to shake, and that by his great weight he sunk as deep as Hell ; that this God incarnate being wounded in the side, in the first conflict with this gaint, fell, but by his fall put his enemies to flight ; that after he had raised himself again, and redeemed the world, he ascended into Heaven ; and that by reason of his wound, he is commonly called the Wounded in his Side. In the tenth incarnation, which shall then be, when according to our supputation antichrist shall come, the world shall be delivered from the slavery of the Mahumetans : but this is only a vulgar tradition, which is not found in their books.

They say also, that the third person of the *Trinity* hath manifested himself to the world ; concerning which they relate, that the daughter of a certain King, being fit to be married, and asked by her father, whom she would marry, answered, that she would not be united but to Divine Person ; and that at the same time the third person of the *Trinity* appeared to the King in form of fire ; that that King forthwith gave notice of it to his daughter, who presently consented to the marriage ; that this person of the *Trinity* though altogether in a fiery appearance, was called before the King's

Council, and seeing that the counsellors opposed this marriage, took hold of their beards and burned them, together with the whole Royal Palace, and then married the daughter. Ridiculous!

They add, that the first incarnation of the second, person, was the nature of a lion; the second, in that of a swine; the third, in that of a tortoise; the fourth, in that of a serpent; the fifth in that of a Brahma she-dwarf, only a foot and a half high; the sixth, in that of a monster, a man-lion; the seventh, in that of a dragon; the eighth, as hath been said already; the ninth, in an ape; the tenth, in that of a great cavalier.

Concerning this I shall acquaint you; that I doubt not but that the Reverend Father Roa, hath taken all he faith of this matter out of the books of the Gentiles, and that is the main ground of their Mythology. I had written many things of it at large in my papers, and had also taken the figures of their Gods or Idols, which I had seen in their Temples, having also got of them the characters of their language *Hanscrit*, but finding at my return all those things, or at least the best part of it printed in the *China Illustrata*, of Father Kircher, who had obtained it at Rome from the same Father Roa: I shall content my self to have named the book to you. 'Tis true, that the word Incarnation, which the Reverend Father useth, was new to me, having never seen it so expressly used; I had only heard some Pendets thus explaining the thing, *vis.* that God had formerly appeared in those figures when he did all those wonders they relate. Others explained it to me after this manner, to wit, that it was the soul of certain great men, such as we

might call Hero's, that had passed into these bodies, and that these Hero's were thus become *Deïtes*, or to speak in the phrase of our old Idolaters, some powerful and considerable Divinities, Numens, Genio's, Demons, Spirits ; for I see not that this word *Deïta* can signifie any other thing : but this second explication of the Pendets, cometh in effect to the first, for as much as most of them believe, that our souls are portions of God.

Others there were that gave me a much sublimer explication, saying, that all those incarnations or apparitions, which their books speak of are not to be understood according to the letter, but mystically, forasmuch as thereby are explained the several attributes of God. Some there were, and those of the most learned, acknowledging to me candidly, that there was nothing more fabulous then those incarnations, and that they were only the inventions of Legislators, to retain people in some religion : and though this were so, if there were nothing else but this, (which is common to them all) that our souls were portions of the Deity, it were to be exploded in sound Phylosophy, without making any mysteries in religion of it, seeing that in respect of our souls we should be God, and that in effect it should be our selves that had imposed upon us a religious worship, Metempsychoses, Paradice and Hell, which would be ridiculous.

I shall here add a few words, to declare that I am not less obliged to Monsieur Henry Lor, and to Monsieur Abraham Roger, then to the Reverend Fathers Kircher and Roa. I had compil'd an hundred things relating to the Gentiles, which I found in the books of

those gentlemen, and which would have been a great trouble to me to range them as they have done. I shall therefore content my self to say something in general to you of their studies and sciences, not indeed in that good order which possibly you might expect, but just as I have learnt it, and as 'tis probably found in their books ; I mean by fragments, and without coherence.

The town of Benares, which is seated upon Ganges in a very fine and rich country and place, is the general school, and as 'twere the Athens of the gentry of the Indies ; where the Brachmans and the religious (those that addict themselves to study) come together. They have no colledges nor classes ordered as with us, me thinks, 'tis more after the way of the school of the antients ; the masters being dispersed over the town in their houses, and especially in the gardens of the suburbs, where the great merchants do suffer them. Of these masters some have four disciples ; others six or seven ; and the most famous, twelve or fifteen at most, who spend ten or a douzen years with them. All this study goeth on very coolly, because most Indians are of a slow and lazy humour, to which the heat and diet of the country contributes much ; and because they are not animated to industry as we, by that great emulation, and by the great hopes we have of coming thereby to great preferment. They study leasurly, and without much tormenting themselves ; eating their *Kichery* or mixture of legums, which the rich merchants cause to be dressed for them.

Their first study is of the *Hanskrit*, which is a language altogether different from the common Indian, and not known but by the Pendets. And this is that

tongue, of which Father Kircher hath publisht the alphabet received from Father Roa. It is called *Hanskrit*, that is, a pure language; and because they believe this is to be tongue, in which God by the means of Brahma, gave them the four *Beths*, which they esteem scarced books, they call it an holy and divine language. They pretend also, that it is as antient as Brahma, whose age they do not reckon but by *Lecques*, or hundred thousands of years. But I would gladly have a warrant for such an extraordinary antiquity. However it cannot be denied that 'tis very old, in regard that the books of their religion, which certainly is very antient, are written in this tongue, and besides that, it hath it's author in Philosophy and Physick in verses, and some other poems, and many other books, of which I have seen a great hall quite full in Benares.

After they have learned the *Hanskrit* (which is very difficult to them, because they have no Grammer worth any thing) they commonly apply themselves to read the *Puranc*, which is as it were the interpretation and sum of *Beths*, which are very large, at least if those be they which were shewed me at Benares: and besides they are so very rare, that my *Agah* could never find them to be sold, what industry so ever he used in it. And they keep them very secret, for fear least the Mahumetans should lay their hands on them and burn them, as they have already done several times.

After the *Puranc* some fall upon Philosophy, where-in certainly they go not far. I have already intimated, that they are of a slow and lazy temper, and are not excited by the hopes to obtain some good place by their study.

Among their philosophers there have principally been six very famous, who make so many different sects; which causeth also a difference and an emulation among the Pendets or Doctors: for they know, that such an one is of this sect, another of another, and every one of them pretends this doctrine to be better than that of others, and more conform to the *Beths*. There is indeed another, a seventh sect, which is called *Bauté* whence do proceed twelve other different sects; but this is not so common as the others, the votaries of it being hated and despised as a company of irreligious and atheistical people, nor do they live like the rest.

All these books speak of the first principles of things, but very differently. Some say, that all is composed of little bodies that are indivisible, not by reason of their solidity, hardness, and resistance, but smalness; adding divers things which approach to the opinions of Democritus and Epicurus, but with so much confusion that one knows not where to fasten, all seeming like a rope of sand: which yet may be as much or more the fault of the Pendets, which seem to me very ignorant, then of the authors.

Others say, that all is made up of matter and form; but not one of them explains himself clearly about the matter, and less about the form. Yet so much I have found, that they understand them not at all as they are wont to be explained in our schools, by reducing the form out of the power of the matter: for they always alledge examples of things artificial, and among them that of a vessel of soft clay, which a potter turns and shapes divers ways.

Others hold, that all is composèd of four elements and a nothing ; but they do not at all explain themselves concerning mixtion and transmutation. And as for their nothing, which comes near to our privation, they admit I know not how many sorts of them, which (I believe) they understand not at all, nor are able to make out to others.

There are also some, that maintain light and darkness to be the first principles, and say a thousand impertinent and confused things upon it, making long winded discourses, which savour nothing at all of Philosophy, but are like the talk of the vulgar.

Others there are that admit privation for the principle, or rather privations, which they distinguish from nothing, and of which they make long enumerations so useless and little philosophical, that I can scarce imagine them to be in their books, or that their authors could have entertained themselves with such uncouth things.

Lastly, some of them do pretend that all is composed of accidents ; of which also they make odd, long, and tedious enumerations, and such as savour only some pettifogger, that can amuse the common people.

Touching these principles in general, they all agree that they are eternal ; our production out of nothing not having come (it seems) into their thoughts, as it hath neither to many others of the antient philosophers : yet they say, there is one of them that hath touched something of it.

As to Physick, they have many little books that are rather collections of *receipts* than any thing else ;

the most antient and chief wherefore is in verse. I shall here tell you, that their practice is sufficiently different from ours, and they ground themselves upon these principles : that one who is sick of a fever, needs no great nourishment : that the main remedy of sicknesses, is abstinence : that nothing is worse for a sick body then flesh-broth, nor which corrupts sooner in the stomach of a feverish patient : that no blood is to be let but in great and evident necessity, as when you apprehend some translation into the brain, or find some considerable part, as the chest, liver, kidneys, enflamed.

Whether this practice be better then ours, I leave to Physitians to decide ; but I see that 'tis successful among them. The same practice is not peculiar to the Physitians of the Gentils, but the Mogolian and Mahumetan doctors, that follow Avicen and Averoes, do also very strictly observe it, especially as to meat-broths. 'Tis true that the Mogols are somewhat more prodigal of their blood then the Gentils, for in these sicknesses wherein they fear those accidents lately specified, they commonly blood once or twice : but these are none of those petty venesections of the new invention of Goa and Paris, but they are of those plentiful ones used by the antients, of 18. or 20. ounces of blood, which often come to a swoounding, and frequently choak the disease in the very beginning, as Galen saith, and as I have often experimented.

Concerning *Anatomy*, I may safely say, that the Gentils understand nothing at all of it, and they can speak nothing as to that subject but what is impertinent. Nor is it a wonder they are so ignorant in it,

since the never open any body of men or beast : they do so much abhor it, that when I opened some living kids and sheep before my Agah, to make him understand the circulation of the blood, and to shew him the pecquetian vessels, through which the chyle at last comes into one of the ventricles of the heart, they trembled for fear and ran away. Yet notwithstanding they affirm, that there are five thousand veins in man, neither more nor less, as if they had well counted them all.

Touching Astronomy, they have their tables, according to which they foresee the eclipses ; and though they do it not with that exactness as our European Astronomers, yet they come pretty near. Mean time they discourse of the eclipse of the moon, as they do upon that of the sun, believing that it is the *Rah*, that black villain, and mischievous Deuta, who at that time seizeth on the moon and blackens her. They hold also that the moon is an hundred thousand *kosses*, that is, above fifty thousand leagues above the sun : that she is lucid of her self, and that 'tis she, from whom we receive a certain vital water, which gathereth and disposeth it self in the brain, descending thence as from a source into all the members for their functions. Besides this, they are of opinion, that the sun and moon, and generally all stars are Deütes ; that 'tis night when the sun is behind the *Someirc*, that imaginary mountain, which they place in the midst of the earth, and make I know not how many thousand leagues high, and to which they give the shape of an inverted sugar-loaf ; so that 'tis not day with them, but when the sun gets out from behind this mountain.

In Geography they have sped no better. They believe the earth to be flat and triangular, and that it hath seven stories, all differing in beauty, perfection, and inhabitants ; each of which is encompassed, they say, by its sea ; that of these seas one is of milk, another of sugar, the third of butter, the fourth of wine, and so forth : so that after one earth there comes a sea and after, sea an earth ; and so on unto seven, beginning from *Someire*, which is in the midst of these stories : that the first story, which is at the foot of *Someire*, hath Deutas for its inhabitants, which are very perfect ; that the second contains likewise Deutas, but less perfect ; and so the rest, still lessening the perfection unto the seventh, which they say is ours, that is, of men far less perfect than all the Deutas ; and lastly, that this whole mass is sustained upon the heads of divers elephants, which when they stir, cause an earthquake.

All these strange impertinences, which I have had the patience to relate, have often made me think, that if they be those famous Sciences of the antient Brahmans of the Indies, very many have been deceived in the great opinion they entertained of them. For my part, I can hardly believe it, but that I find the religion of the Indians to be from immemorial times ; that 'tis written in the language *Hanskrit*, which cannot be but very antient, since its beginning is unknown, and 'tis a dead language, not understood but by the learned that all their books are only written in that tongue : all which are as many marks of a very great antiquity. Let us now add a few words about the worship of their Idols.

When I descended along the river Ganges, and passed through Banares, that famous school of all the

Indian gentility, I went to see the the chief of the Pendets, who hath there his ordinary residence. This is a *Fakire*, or Religious Monk, so renowned for his knowledge, that Chah-Jehan, partly for his Science, partly to please the Rajas, gave him a pension of 2000 Roupies, that is, about 1000 crowns. This was a big and proper man, goodly to look on ; who for all his cloaths had nothing but a white silken scarf, tied about his waste, and hanging down to his mid-leg, with another red scarf about his shoulders like a little cloak. I had often seen him at Dehli in this posture before the King, in the assembly of all the Omrahs, and marching upon the streets, sometimes on foot, sometimes in a *Palekey*. I had also frequently seen and many times conversed with him, when for a whole year together he constantly came to our conference before my Agah, whom he courted, that he might procure him again that pension which Aureng-Zebe (being come to the Crown) had taken from him, that he might appear a great Musulman. In the visit I made him at Banares, he was exceedingly courteous to me, and even gave me a collation in the library of his University, attended with six of the most famous Pendets of the town. When I found my self in so good company, I prayed them all to tell me their sense about the adoration of their Idols ; intimating to them that I was leaving the Indies, extreamly scandalized upon that score ; and reproching them, that that worship was a thing against all reason, and altogether unworthy such Scholars and Philosophers as they were. Whereupon I received this answer.

"We have indeed (said they) in our Deuras or Temples, store of divers statues, as as those of *Brahma*,

Mehaden, Genich and *Gavani*, who are some of the chief and most perfect *Deutas* : and we have also many others of less perfection, to whom we pay great honour, prostrating our selves before them, and presenting them flowers, rice, scented oyls, saffron and such other things with much ceremony, but we do not believe these statues to be *Brahmā*, or *Becken* &c. themselves, but only their images and representations, and we do not give them that honour, but upon the account of what they represent. They are in our Temples, because 'tis necessary for praying well, to have something before our eyes that may fix the mind : and when we pray, it is not the statue we pray to, but he that it is represented by it. For the rest, we acknowledge that 'tis God that is Absolute, and the only Omnipotent Lord and Master."

This is, without adding or subtracting any thing, the resolution they gave me. But, to tell you true, this seemed a little too much accommodated to our Christianity, in respect of what I had learned of it from several other Pendets.

After this, I put them upon their Chronology, where they pretended to shew me far higher antiquities than all ours. They will not say, that the world is eternal ; but they make it so old, that I almost know not which best. Its determined duration, say they, is of four *Dgugue* . This *dgugue* is a certain determined number of years, as amongst us we have a *seculum* (an Age) with this difference, that an Age of ours contains only an hundred years, but their *Dgugue* is made up of an hundred *Lecques*, that is, an hundred thousand years. I do not precisely remember the number total of the years of each *Dgugue* ; but this I know very well, that the

first, called *Sate-dguge*, is of twenty five *Lecques* of years : that the second, which they call *Trita*, is of above twelve *Lecques* : the third, called *Duaper*, of eight *Leques* and sixty four thousand years, if I remember well ; and the fourth, called *Kale-dgugue*, is of I know not how many *Lecques*. The three, first, say they, and much of the fourth, are elapsed ; so that the world shall not last so long as it hath done, because it is to perish at end of the fourth, all things being then to return to their first principles. I made them compute again and again, to have their age of the world aright ; but finding that perplexed them, and that they agreed not among themselves about the number of the *Lecques*, I contented my self to see that they make the world exceeding old. But being pressed a little to make out this antiquity, they pay you with nothing but little stories, and at length come to this, that they find it so in their *Beths*, or the books of their Law, given them by the hands of Brahma.

After this I urged them concerning the nature of the Deutas, of which I desired to be particularly instructed ; but I recieved nothing but what was very confused. They said, that there were three sorts of them, good, evil, and indifferent ones, that were neither good nor bad ; that some thought, they were made of fire, others of light ; others that they were *biapek*, of which word I could not get a clear explication ; only they said, that God was *biapek*, and our soul was *biapek*, and what is *biapek* is incorruptible, and depends neither from time nor place : that others would have them to be nothing else but portions of the Deity ; and lastly, that some there were, that made them certain

kinds of divinities severed and dispensed over the world.

I remember, that I also put them upon the nature of the *Lengue-cherire*, which some of their authors do admit : but I could obtain nothing else of it but what I had long since understood from our Pendet, which was, that the seeds of plants and animals are not formed anew, but were contrived in the first production of the world, and dispensed abroad every where and mixed in all things ; and that they are (not only potentially but actually) the very and entire plants and animals, though so small, that their parts cannot be distinguisht, but when being put into a convenient womb, and there nourished, they extend themselves and increase : so that the seeds of an apple and pear-tree are a *Lengue-cherire*, that is, a little entire and perfect apple and pear-tree, having all its essential parts : and so the seeds of an horse, an elephant, and a man, &c. are a *Lengue-cherire* ; a little horse, a little elephant, a little man, in which there wants nothing but the soul and nourishment to make them appear what they are.

For a conclusion, I shall discover to you the mystery of a great *cabala*, which in these last years hath made great noise in Indostan, because certain Pendets, or Heathenish doctors, had possessed with it the minds of Dara and Sultan-Sujah, the two first sons of Chah-Jehan.

You cannot but know the doctrine of the antient philosophers, touching that great soul of the world, which they will have our souls and those of animals to be portions of. If we did well penetrate into Plato and Aristotle, we might perhaps find they were of this

sentiment. It is in a manner the general doctrine of the Heathen Pendets of the Indies, and 'tis the same which still maketh the *cabala* of the *Soufys*, and of the greatest part of the learned men in Persia, and which is found explained in Persian verses, so sublime and emphatical in their *Goultchen-raz* or *Parterre* of *Mysteri-es* : which is also the very same of Dr. Flud's, whom our great Gassendus hath so learnedly refuted ; and that wherein most Chymists lose themselves. But these Indian Cabalists or Pendets I speak of, drive this impertinence farther than all those philosopherr, and pretend that God, or that Sovereign Being, which they call *Achar* (Immutable,) hath produced or drawn out of His own substance, not only souls, but also whatever is material and corporeal in the universe ; and that this production was not meerly made by way of an efficient cause, but by a way resembling a spider that produceth a web, which it draws forth out of its own body, and takes in again when it will. Creation therefore, say these doctors, is nothing else but an extraction, which God maketh of His own substance, of those webs he draws from his own bowels ; as destruction is nothing else but a reprisal, or taking back again this Divine Substance, and these Divine webs into himself : so that the last day of the world, which they call *ma-per-la* or *Pralca*, when they believe that all shall be destroyed, shall be nothing else but a general of all those webs which God had drawn forth out of Himself. There is therefore nothing (so they go on) that is real or effective in all we think, we see, hear, smell, taste or touch : all this world is nothing but a kind of dream and a meer

illusion, in regard that all this multiplicity and diversity of things that appear to us, is nothing but one and the same thing, which is God himself ; as all those several numbers of 10, 20, 100, 1000, &c. are indeed nothing but one and the same unity many times repeated. But if you demand any reason for this phantasie, or any explication of the manner, how this issuing from and reprisal into the substance of God, this extension, and this variety of things is made ; or how it can be, that God, being not corporeal but *biapet* and incorruptible, (as they acknowledge) should yet be divisible into so many portions of bodies and souls ; they never make any other return, but of some pretty comparisons, as, that God is like an immense ocean, in which if many vials full of water should be floating, they would wherever they should move, be found always in the same ocean, in the same water ; and that coming to break, their water would be at the same time be united with their whole, and with that great ocean of which they were portions. Or they will tell you, that it is with God as with light, which is the same through the whole universe, and which yet appears an hundred different ways according to the diversity of of the objects it falls upon, or according to the several colours and shapes of glasses through which it shineth. They will pay you, I say, only with such kind of similitudes, that bear no proportion at all with God, and are good for nothing, but to cast dust into the eyes of the ignorant people : and you must not expect any solid answer from them, if you should tell them, that those vials would indeed be in a *like* water, but not in *the same* ; and that it is indeed a *like* light over all

the world, but not *the same*; or if you should make any other objections against them, they return always to the same comparisons, pretty expressions, or as the *Soufys*, to the fine verses of their *Goult chen-raz*.

Now Sir, what think you? Had I not reason, from this great heap of extravagancies, I mean, from that panick and childish terror struck into those Indians by eclipses from that superstitious compassion for the sun to deliver it from that black demon accompanied with those apish prayers, washings, plungings, and alms cast into the river; from that mad and infernal obstinacy of the women, burning themselves with the crops's of their husbands; from those several madnesses of the *Fakires*; and lastly, from all that fabulous stuff of the *Beths* and other Indian books: had I not reason, I say, to premise in the title of this letter; (which is but a poor advantage to me from so long travelling) "that there are no opinions so ridiculous or extravagant, of which the mind of man is not capable."

To conclude, I have no more to add then to desire you, to do me the favour and deliver with your own hands the letter to Monsieur Chapelle. It is he that first procured me that familiar acquaintance I had with Monsieur Gassendi, your intimate and illustrious friend that hath been so advantageous to me; which maketh me acknowledge my great obligations to him, and exceedingly engageth me to love him, and to remember him in what part of the world soever I am: as I am no less bound to honour you as long as I live; as well for the peculiar affection you have always expressed to me, as for the good counsel you have assisted me with in your many letters during the whole course of my

voyages, and for that favour of sending to me with so much generosity (without interest or mony) unto the end of the world : whither my curiosity had carried me, a chest of books, when those, of whom I demanded them for mony, ordered by me to be paid at Marseilles, and who should have honestly sent them me, abandonned me there, and laught at all my letters, looking upon me as a lost man, whom they should never see again.

A RELATION OF A VOYAGE MADE IN THE YEAR 1664, WHEN THE GREAT *Mogol Aureng-Zebe* WENT WITH HIS ARMY FROM *Dehli*, THE CAPITAL OF *Indostan*, TO *Lahor* ; FROM *Lahor* TO *Bember*, AND FROM THENCE TO THE KINGDOM OF *Kachemire*, COMMONLY CALL'D BY THE *Mogols*, *The PARADISE of the Indies*, &c. BY WAY OF SEVERAL LETTERS, WRITTEN BY THE AUTHOR TO HIS FRIENDS.

The first Letter to *Monsieur de Merveilles*, written at *Dehli*, Decemb. 1664. *Aureng-Zebe* being ready to march.

CONTAINING

The occasion and cause of this voyage of Aureng-Zebe ; together with an account of the state and posture of his army, and the equipage and ordinary provisions of the chief of his cavalry ; and some curious particulars observable in the voyages of the Indies.

SIR,

SINCE that *Aureng-Zebe* began to find himself in better health, it hath been constantly reported, that he

would make a voyage to Lahor, and go from thence to Kachemire, to change the air, and to be out of the way of the approaching summer heats, for fear of a relapse : that the more intelligent sort of men would hardly be perswaded, that as long as he kept his father Chah-jean prisoner in the fort of Agra, he would think it safe to be at such a distance. Yet notwithstanding we have found, the reason of State hath given place to that of health, or rather to the intrigues of Rauchenara-Begum in shewing her self to a gallant and magnificent army, as her sister Begum-Saheb had formerly done during the reign of Chan-jean.

He departed then the 6th of December, about three a clock in the afternoon ; a day and hour that must needs be fortunate for a great voyage, if we may give credit to the gentlemen Astrologers who have so decreed it. And he arrived at *Chach-linar*, his House of Pleasure, distant about two leagues from thence ; where he spent six whole dayes, thereby to give to all sufficient time to make necessary preparations for a voyage, that would take up a year and an half. We have this day news, that he is gone to encamp on the way of Lahor, and that when he hath stay'd there two dayes, he intends to continue his march without any further expectation. He hath with him not only the thirty five thousand horse, or there about, and 10000 foot, but also both his artilleries, the great or heavy, and the small or lighter, which is call'd, the artillery of the stirrup, because it is inseparable from the person of the King, whereas the heavy sometimes leaveth him to keep the high and well beaten roads.

The great artillery is made up of seventy pieces of

cannon, most of them cast ; of which some are so ponderous, that they need twenty yoke of oxen to draw them ; and some of them require elephants to help all those oxen, by thrusting and drawing the wheels of the wagons with their trunks and heads when they stick in any deep way, or are to pass some steep mountain. That of the stirrup^s is composed of fifty or sixty small field-pieces, all of brass, each carried upon a little pritty and painted chariot (as hath been already said in another place) beautified with many little red streamers, and drawn by two very handsom horses, driven by the gunner himself, together with a third horse, which the gunners asisstant leads for a relief. All these chariots go alwaies a great pace, that they may be soon enough in order before the tent of the King, and discharge all at once at the time of his entry, to give the army notice.

All these great preparations give us cause to apprehend, that instead of going to Kachemire, we be not led to besiege that important city of Kandahar, which is the frontier to Persia, Indostan and Usbeck, and the capital of an excellent country, yielding a very great revenue, and which for this very reason hath been ever the bone of contention between the Persians and Indians. Whatever it be, there is now a necessity to dispatch at Dehli, any business whatsoever notwithstanding ; and I should find my self cast behind the army, if I should tarry any longer : besides I know, that my *Nawab*, or Agah Danech-mend-kan stays for me abroad with impatience : he can no more be without philosophising in the afternoon upon the books of Gassendi and Des-cartes, upon the Globe and the

Sphere, or upon *Anatomy*, than can be without bestowing the whole morning upon the weighty matters of the kingdom, in the quality of Secretary of State for Forrain Affairs, and of great Master of the Cavalry. I shall depart this night, after I have given the last order for all my businesses, and provided all necessaries for my voyage, as all the principal persons of the cavalry do; that is, two good Tartarian horses, whereto I am obliged by reason of the one hundred and fifty crowns of pay, which I have by the month; a camel of Persia, and a groom; a cook, and another servant, which must be had ordinarily to march in these countries before the horse, and to carry a flagon with water in his hand. I also have provided the ordinary utensils, such as are a tent of a middle size, and a proportionate piece of foot-tapistry; and a little bed with girdles, made up with four strong and light canes, and a pillow for the head; two coverlets whereof one folded up fourfold serveth for a matrasse; a round table cloth of leather to eat upon; some napkins of dyed cloth, and three small sacks for plate, which are put up in a greater sack, and this sack into a very great and strong sack made of girdles, in which are put all the provisions, together with the linnen of the master and servants. I have also made provision of excellent rice for five or six dayes, for fear I should not always find so good; of some sweet biscuit, with sugar and anis; of a linnen sleeve with its little iron-hook to let, by the means thereof, run out and to keep curdled milk; and of store of limons with sugar, to make limonade; such milk and limonade being the two great and sovereign refreshments of the Indies:

all which, as I said, is put into the last named sack, which is so large and heavy, that three or four men have pains enough to lift it up: though two men do first fold and turn one side upon the other when it is full, and though the camel be made to stoop very nigh it, and these need no more than to turn one of the sides of that sack upon the camel. All this equipage and provision is absolutely necessary in such voyages as these. We must not look for such good lodging and accommodations as we have in our country. We must resolve to encamp and live after the Arabian and Tartarian mode, without expecting any other inns than tents. Nor must we think to plunder the country-man; all the lands of the kingdom being in propriety to the King: we are well to consider, that we must be sober and prudent, and that to ruine the country man, were to ruine the demesne of the King. That which much comforts me in this march, is, that we go northward, and depart in the beginning of the winter after the rains; which is the right season for travelling in the Indies, because it raineth not, and we are not so much incommoded by heat and dust. Besides that, I find my self out of danger of eating the bread of *bazar*, or of the market, which ordinarily is ill baked, full of sand and dust; nor obliged to drink of those naughty waters which being all turbid, and full of nastiness of so many people and beasts that fetch thence, and enter into them, do cause such fevers, which are very hard to cure, and which breed also certain very dangerous worms in the legs. They at first cause a great inflammation, accompanied with a fever, and ordinarily come forth a little after the voyage although there have been

some, that have stay'd a whole year and more before they appear'd. They are commonly of the bigness and length of a small vial-string, so that one would sooner take them for some nerve than for a worm; and they must be drawn out little by little, from day to day, gently winding them about a little twig of the bigness of a needle, for fear of breaking them. This, I say, comforteth me not a little, that I find my self exempt from these inconveniencies; my *Navab* having vouchsafed me a very particular favour; which is, that he hath appointed to give me every day a new loaf of his house, and a *Souray* of the water of Ganges, with which he hath laden several camels of his train, as the whole Court doth. *Souray* is that tin-flagon full of water, which the servant, that marcheth on foot before the gentleman on horseback, carrieth in his hand wrap't up in a sleeve of red cloth. Ordinarily it holdeth but one pinte; but I had some of them expresly made, that hold two. We shall see, whether this cunning will succeed. The water cooleth very well in this flagon, provided that care be had alwayes to keep the sleeve moist, and that the servant that hold it in his hand, do march and stir the air, or else that it be held towards the wind; as is commonly done upon three little sticks, crossing one another, that they may not touch the earth; for the moistness of the linnen, the agitation of the air, or the wind, are absolutely necessary to keep the water fresh; as if this moistness, or rather the water imbibed by the sleeve did keep out the little igneous bodies or spirits that are in the air, at the same time when it giveth entrance to the nitrous or other parts, which hinder the motion in the water,

and cause coolness ; in the same manner as glass keep out water, and giveth passage to the light, by reason of the particular texture and disposition of the part of the glass, and the diversity there must be between the particles of light and those of water. We do not use this tin-flagon for keeping our water cool but in the field : when we are at home, we have jars of a certain porous earth, in which it is much better cooled provided it be expos'd to the wind, and moisten'd with a linnen-cloth, as the flagon ; or else, use is made of salt-peter, as all persons of quality do, whether in towns, or in the army. They put water, or any other liquor, to be cooled, in a round and long necked tin-flagon, such as are the English bottles, and for the space of half a quarter of an hour this flagon is stirr'd in water, into which hath been cast three or four handfuls of salt-peter ; this maketh the water very cold, neither is it unwholesome, as I did apprehend ; but only that sometimes it causeth gripings at first when one is not accustomed to it.

But to what purpose, to play so much the philosopher, when we should think to depart, and to endure the sun, which at all seasons is incommodious in the Indies, and to swallow the dust, which is never wanting in the army ; to put up, to load, and to unload every day our baggage, to help the servants to fasten sticks, to draw cords, to put up tents, and to take them down again, to march in the day, and in the night, to devour cold and heat, and in a word, to turn Arabians for a year and a half, during which time we are to be in the field. Adieu ; I shall not fail to acquit my self of my promise, and from time to time to inform you of our

adventures ; and besides, since the army for this time will make but small journeys in its march, and pass on with all that pomp and magnificence, which the Kings of Indostan do affect, I shall endeavour to observe the most considerable things, that I may impart them to you, as soon as we shall arrive at Lahor.

THE SECOND LETTER

CONTAINING

THE NUMBER AND MAGNIFICENCE, THE ORDER AND THE DISPOSITION OF THE TENTS OF THE GREAT MOGOL IN THE FIELD : THE NUMBER OF ELEPHANTS, CAMELS, MULES, AND PORTERS, NECESSARY TO CARRY THEM : THE DISPOSITION OF THE *Bazars* OR ROYAL MARKETS : THAT OF THE PARTICULAR QUARTERS OF THE OMRAHS, OR LORDS, AND OF THE REST OF THE ARMY : THE EXTENT OF THE WHOLE ARMY, WHEN ENCAMPED : THE CONFUSION THERE MET WITH ; AND HOW IT MAY BE AVOIDED : THE ORDER OF PREVENTING ROBBERIES ; THE DIFFERENT MANNERS OF THE MARCH OF THE KING, THE PRINCESSES, AND THE REST OF THE SERAGLIO : THE DANGER THERE IS IN BEING TOO NEAR THE WOMEN : THE SEVERAL WAYS OF THE ROYAL HUNTING, AND HOW THE KING HUNTS WITH HIS WHOLE ARMY : THE ABUNDANCE OF PEOPLE THERE IS IN THE ARMY, AND THE METHOD OF MAKING THEM ALL SUBSIST.

SIR,

THIS indeed is called marching with gravity, and as we speak here *a la Mogol* : it is no more but fifteen or

sixteen dayes journey from Dehli to Lahor, which make little more than six score leagues; and yet we have spent almost two months on this way. 'Tis true, the King, with the best part of the army went somewhat aside from the high way, the better to enjoy the diversisements of hunting, and for the conveniency of the water of Gemna, which we went to look for on the right hand, and which we leisurely followed long enough in our hunting, crossing fields of tall grass, full of all sorts of game, where the horsemen could scarce be seen. At present, whilst we are at rest, I am going to make good what I have promised you in the title of this letter; hoping shortly to make you come to Kachemire, and to shew you one of the best countries in the world.

When the King is in the field, he hath usually two camps, I mean two bodies, of tents separated, to the end that when he breaketh up and leaveth one, the other may have passed before by a day, and be found ready when he arriveth at the place design'd to encamp it: and 'tis therefore, that they are called *Peiche-kanes* as if you should say, houses going before: these two *Peiche-kanes* are almost alike, and there are requisite above three score elephant, more than two hundred camels, above an hundred mules, and as many more porters to carry one of them. The elephants carry the most bulky things, such as are the great tents, and their great pillars, which being too long and too heavy, are taken down in three pieces. The camels carry lesser tents: the mules, the baggage and kitchins. And to the porters are given all the little moveables, and such as are delicate and fine, that might easily be broken; as porcelain, which the King usually imployeth

at table : those painted and gilded beds, and those rich *Karguais* ; which I shall speak of here after.

One of these two *piech-kanes*, or bodies of tents, is no sooner arrived at the place designed for entamping, but the great Marshal that orders the lodging, chuseth some fair place for the Kings quarters ; yet with a regard, as much as is possible, to the symmitry and order that is to be observed for the whole army ; and he maketh out a square, of which each side is above three hundred ordinary paces long. An hundred pikemen presently clear and level this pace, making square planes to raise the tents upon, and surrounding all this great square with *kanates* or skreens seven or eight foot high, which they fasten with cords tyed to sticks, and with perches fix't in the ground, by couples, from ten to ten paces, without, and the other within, inclining the one upon the other. These *Kanates* are made of a strong cloth lined with stained linnen. In the middle of one of the sides of this square is the entry or Royal Gate, great and magnificent, and the Indian stuff which 'tis made of, as also those stuffs, of which the whole side of the square of the face is lined without, are far better and richer than the other.

The first and the greatest of the tents, that is reared in this inclosure, is called *Am-kas*, because it is the place where the King and all the Lords in the army do assemble about nine a clock in the morning, when the *Mokam*, that is, the usual publick meeting is held. For the Kings of Indostan, although they are in a march, do not dispence but very rarely with this almost inviolable custom, which is pass'd into a kind of duty and law, *viz.* to appear twice a day in the assembly,

there to give order for State-affairs, and to administer Justice.

The second, which is little less than the first, and a little further advanced into the inclosure, is called, *Gosl-kane*, that is to say, a place to wash in : and here 'tis, where all the Lords every night meet, and where they come to salute and do obeisance to the King, as ordinarily they do when they are in the metropolis. This assembly in the evening is very inconvenient to the Omrahs ; but it is a thing that looks great and stately, to see a far off, in an obscure night, in the midst of a campagne, cross all the tents of an army, long files of torches lighting these Omrahs to the Kings quarters, and attending them back again to their tents. 'Tis true, that these lights are not of wax as ours, but they last very long. They are only an iron put about a stick, at the end of which are wound raggs of old linnen from time to time, which is moistned with oyl, held by the link-men in their hands in a brass or latton-flagon, with a long and streight neck.

The third tent, which is not much less than the two first, and is yet further advanced into the inclosure, is called *Kalvet-kane*, that is to say, a retired or the Privy Council-place, because none but the first officers of the kingdom enter into it ; and 'tis there where the greatest and the most important affairs are transacted.

Yet further into the square are the particular tents of the King, encompass'd with small *Kanites* or skreens, of the height of a man, and lined with stained Indian stuff, of the elegant workmanship of Maslipatam, which do represent an hundred sorts of different

flowers: and some of them lined with flowred sattin with large silk fringes.

The tents joyning to the Kings, are those of the Begum or Princesses, and the other great ladies and she-officers of the seraglio, which are likewise encompass'd, as those of the King, with rich *Kanates*; and amidst all these tents are placed those of the lower she-officers, and other serving-women, alwayes, upon the matter, in the same order, according to their office.

The Am-kas, and the five or six principal tents are raised high, that they may be seen at a good distance, and the better fence of the heat. Without it is nothing but a course and strong red cloth, yet beautified and striped with certain large stripes, cut variously and advantagiously to the eye: but within it is lined with those fine Indian flowred stuffs, of the same work of Maslipatam; and this work is raised and enriched with silk, gold and silver embroideries having great fringes, or with some fine flowred sattin. The pillars supporting these tents, are painted and guild; one marcheth on nothing but rich tapestry, having matras-ses of cotton under them four or five inches thick, and round about these tapestries there are great square rails richly cover'd to lean upon.

In each of the two great tents where the assembly is kept, there is raised a Theater richly adorned, where the King giveth audience under a great canopy of velvet, or purfl'd with gold. In the other tents are found the like canopies, and there you may see also set up certain *Karguais*, that is, fine cabinets, whose little doors are shut with silver-locks. To conceive what they are, you may represent to you two small

squares of our skreens, set upon one another, and neatly round about fastned to one another with a silken-string; yet so that the extremities of the sides of the uppermost come to incline upon one another so as to make a kind of little tabernacle with this difference from our skreens, that all the sides of these are of very thin and slight firr-boards, painted and guild without, and enriched round about with gold and silk-fringes, and lined within with scarlet, or flowred sattin, or purpled with gold.

And this is very near what I can tell you of what is contained within the great square.

What concerns the particulars that are without the square; there are first two pretty tents on both the two sides of the great entry or Royal Gate, where are found two choice horses saddled, and richly harness'd, altogether ready to be mounted upon occasion, or rather for State and magnificence.

On the two sides of the same gate are placed in order those fifty or three score small field-pieces, that make up the artillery of the *Sirrup* above mention'd, and which discharge all together to salute the King entring into his tent, and to give notice thereof to the whole army.

Before the gate there is alwayes left void, as much as may be, a great place, at the end of which there is a great tent, called *Nagar-kane* because that is the place of the timbals and trumpets.

Near this tent there is another great one, which is called *Tchauky-kane* because it is the place where Omrahs keep guard, every one in his turn, once a week twenty four hours together; yet notwithstanding

most of the Omrahs on the day of their guard, cause, close by, to be rear'd one of their own tents, to be the more at liberty, and to have more elbow room.

Round about the three other sides of the great square are set up all the tents of the officers, which are always found in the same order and disposition, unless it be that the place permit it not: they have all their peculiar names; but as they are hard to pronounce, and I pretend not to teach you the language of the country, it will be sufficient to tell you, that there is a particular one for the arms of the King; another for the rich harnesses of horses; another for vests purfled with gold, which are the ordinary presents bestow'd by the King. Besides, there are four more, near one another; the first of which is designed for keeping fruit; the second for comfits; the third for Ganges water, and the salt-peter to cool it; and the fourth for the *betele*, which is that leaf, where of I have spoken elsewhere, which is offered to friends as coffee is in Turkie, and chew'd to make ruddy lips and a sweet breath. Next to those, there are fifteen or sixteen others that serve for the kitchens and what belongs to them. Amongst all these tents are those of a great number of officers and eunuchs. Lastly, there are four or five long ones for led horses, and some others for the best elephants; and all those that are for hunting. For these must needs be a retreat for all that great number of birds of prey, that are always carried for game and magnificence; and so there must be for those many dogs, and those leopards serving to take wild goats; for those *Nilgaus* or gray oxen, which I

take for elcks ; for these lions and rhinoceros's, that are led for greatness ; for those great bufalo's of Bengale fighting with lions ; and lastly for those tamed wild goats, they call gazelles, that are made to sport before the King.

This vast number of tents, now spoken of, together with those that are within the great square, make up the King's quarter, which is always in the middle, and as 'twere in the center of the army, except the place do not allow it. It will easily be thence concluded, that this quarter of the King must needs be something great and Royal, and afford a very fine prospect, if one behold from some high place this great body of red tents in the midst of the army, incamped in a fair and even campagne, where may be fully seen all that order and disposition that is to be observed in the whole.

After that the great Marshal of the camp hath chosen a place fit for the King's quarter, and hath made the Am-kas to be set up highest of all the tents, and by which he is to take his measure for the ordering and disposing the rest of the army accordingly ; he then marketh out of the Royal *basars* or markets, whence the whole army is furnisht with necessaries ; drawing the first and the chief of all, like a great street running straight, and a great free way traversing the whole army, now on the right hand, and by and by on the left of the Am-kas and the King's quarter, and always in the straightest line that may be towards the encamping of the next day. All the Royal *basars*, that are neither so long nor so broad, commonly cross this first,

some on this, others on the other side of the King's quarter ; and all these bazars are discern'd by very high canes like great pearches, which are fixt in the ground from three hundred to three hundred paces or thereabout, with red standards, and cowstailles of the great Tibet fastned on the top of these canes like perriwigs.

The same Marshal designs, next, the place of the Omrahs, so as they may always keep the same order, and be ever as near as may be King's quarter ; some on the right, others on the left hand, some on this side of him, others beyond him ; so that none of them may change the place that hath been once appointed on him, or that himself hath desired in the beginning of the voyage.

The quarters of the Omrahs and Rajas, as to their particular order and disposition, are to be imagined in a manner like that of the King : for commonly they have two *Perche-kanes* with a square of *Kanates*, which incloseth their principal tent and those of their women ; and round about these are put upon the tents of their officers and cavaliers, with a peculiar bazar, which is a street of small tents for the lower sort of people that follows the army, and furnisheth the camp with forage, grains, rice, butter, and other things that are most necessary ; whereby they are so accommodated, that they need not always go to the Royal Bazars, where generally all things are to be found as in the capital city. Each bazar is marked in the two ends by two canes planted in the ground, which are a stall as those of the Royal Bazars, that so at a good distance the particular

standards fastned to them may be discovered, and the several quarters distinguish't from one another.

The great Omrahs and Rajas affect to have, their tents very high. But they must beware lest they be too high, because it may happen, that the King, passing by, might perceive it, and command them to be thrown down; of which we have seen an example in this last march. Neither must they be altogether red from without, since those of the King alone are to be so. Lastly, out of respect they must all look towards the Am-kas, or the quarter of the King.

The residue of the space between the Kings quarter, and those of the Omrahs and the bazars, is taken up by the tents of the *Manseb-dars* or little Omrahs, and of that infinite number of great and small merchants that follow the army; of all those that belong to the Law; and lastly, of all such as serve both the artilleries: which maketh indeed a prodigious number of tents, and requireth a very great extent of ground. Yet it is not all true what is said of either of them. And I believe, that when the whole army is in a fair and even campagne where it may encamp with ease, and that, following the ordinary plot, it comes a length to be lodged, as near as may be, in a round (as we have often seen it does, upon this road) the compass of it will not be above two leagues, or two leagues and an half; and with all this there will yet be left here and there several void places. But then the great artillery, which taketh up a great tract of ground very often a day or two go before.

Nor is all true, what is said of the strange confusion, which commonly strikes an astonishment

into all new comers. For all little acquaintance with the method of the army, and some heeding of the order observed in the camp, will soon enable one to avoid all embarrassment, and to go to and fro about his business, and to find his quarter again; forasmuch as every one regulateth himself by the King's quarter, and the particular tents and Standards of the Omrahs, that may be seen afar off, and by the Standards and perriwigs of the Royal Bazars, which may also be seen at a great distance.

Yet for all these marks it will sometimes fell out, that one shall be extremely perplexed, and ever in the day time, but especially in the morning, when a world of people do arrive, and every one of those is busie and seeks to lodge himself: and that not only, because there is often raised so great a dust, that the King's quarter, the Standards of the bazars and the Omrahs (which might serve for guides) cannot be discover'd: but because a man finds himself between tents that are putting up, and between cords, which the lesser Omrahs, that have no *Peiche-kane*, and the Manseb-dars stretch out to mark their lodgings, and to hinder, that no way may be made nigh them, or that no unknown person may come to lodge near their tents, where often they have their women: if in this case you mean to get by on one side, you will find the wayes obstructed by those stretched out cords, which a troupe of mean serving-men standing there with big cudgels, will not suffer to be lower'd, to suffer the baggage to pass: if you will turn back, you'll find the wayes shut since you passed. And here it is, where you must

cry out, storm, intreat, make as if you would strike, and yet well beware of doing so, leaving the men as well as you can, to quarrel against one another and afterwards to accord them for fear of some mischief; and in short, to put your self into all imaginable postures, to get away thence and to make your camels pass: but the great trouble is, when a man is obliged to go in a evening to a place somewhat remote, because that those offensive smoaks of the fire of great wood, of cowshares, of camel-dung, which the common people then make in their kitchens, do raise a mist (especially when there is no wind) so thick, that you can see nothing at all. I have been three or four times surprized with it, so as not to know what to do. Well might I ask the way; I knew not whither I went, and I did nothing but turn. Once, among other times, I was constrained to stay still this mist passed, and the moon risen. And another time I was forced to get to the *Aguacy-die*, to lye down at the foot thereof and there to pass all the night as well as I could having my servant and horse by me. This *Aguacy-die* is like a tall mast, but very slender, which can be taken down in three pieces, and 'tis planted toward the King's quarter, near that tent which is called Nagar-kane. In the evening is drawn up to the top of it a lanthron with a light burning in it all night long; which is very commodious, as being seen a great way off; and thither it is that people gone astray do retire, from thence to get again to the bazars, and to ask the way, or there to pass the rest of the night; for no body hinders one from doing so, and a man may be there in safety from

robbers. It is called *Aguacydie*, as if you should say, Light of Heaven, in regard that from a far off it appears like a star.

For the prevention of robberies, each Omrah causeth a guard to be kept all the night long, in his particular camp, of such men that prepetually go the round, and cry *Kaber-dar*, 'have a care.' Besides, there are round about the army set guards, at five hundred common paces from one another, that keep a fire, and cry also *Kaber-dar*. And over and above all these *Cotoual*, who is, as 'twere, the great Prevost, sends out troupes of guards every way, that pass through all the bazars, crying out and trumpetting all night long. Yet for all this, some robberies there are now and then committed; and 'tis necessary alwayes to be upon ones guard, to go to sleep by times, that so you may be awake the rest of the night, and not to trust your servants too much to keep guard for you.

But let us now see, how many different wayes the Great Mogol is carried in the field.

Ordinarily he causeth himself to be carried on mens shoulders, in a kind of sedan or litter, upon which is a *tract-raven*, that is, a field-throne, on which he is seated: and this is like a magnificent tabernacle with pillars, painted and gilded, which may be shut with glass, when 'tis ill weather; the four branches of the litter are cover'd with scarlet or purpled gold, with great gold and silk-fringes; and at each branch there are two robust and well-cloathed porters, that change by turns with as many more that follow.

Sometimes also he goeth on horse-back, especially when 'tis a fair day for hunting. At other times he

rideth on an elephant, in a *Mik-dember* or *Hauze*; and this is the most splendid appearance: for, the elephant is decked with a very rich and very magnificent harness; the *Mik-dember* being a little square house or turret of wood, is alwaes painted and gilded; and the *Hauze*, which is an oval seat, having a canopy with pillars over it, is so likewise.

In these different marches he is always accompanied with a great number of Omrahs and Rajas following him close and thick on horse-back without any great order: and all those that are in the army are obliged to be at the Am-kas at break of day, unless he do exempt them from it upon the account either of their peculiar office, or their great age. This march is very inconvenient to them, especially on hunting dayes; for they must endure the sun and dust as the simple souldiers, and that sometimes until three of the clock in the afternoon; whereas, when they do not attend the King, they go at ease in their *Palekys* close cover'd, if they please, free from the sun and dust; sleeping in them couched all along as in a bed and so coming on good time to their tent, which expects them with a ready dinner, their kitchen being gone the night before, after supper. About the Omrahs and amongst them, there is alwayes a good number of horse-men well mounted, call'd *Gourse-berders*, because they carry a kind of silver-mace of armes. There are also many of them about the right and left wings, that precede the person of the King, together with store of foot men, These *Gourse-berdars* are choicemen, of a good men and a fair stature, appointed to carry orders, and having all of them great sticks in

their hands, whereby they put people aside at a good distance, and hinder that no body march' before the King to incommode him.

After the Rajas marcheth a train mixed of a great unnumber of timbals and trumpets. I have already said in another place, that this train consists of nothing but of figures 'of silver' representing strange animals, hands, scales, fishes, and other mysterious things, that are carried at the end of great silver sticks.

At last a great troupe of Manseb-dars, or little Omrahs, well mounted, and furnisht with swords, arrows and quivers, follow after all the former: and this body is much more numerous than that of the Omrahs, because, besides that all those that are of the guard dare not fail to be at break of day, as the Omrahs, at the gate of the Kings tent to accompany him: there is also many, that come amongst them, to make their court, and to become known their.

The Princesses, and the great ladies of the seraglio are also carried in sundry fashions; some are carried, like the King, on mens shoulders, in a *Tchoudoule*, which is a kind of Tact-ravan, painted, guilded, and cover'd with great and costly net-work of silk of divers colours, enriched with embroidery, fringe, and thick pendant tufts. Others are carried in a very handsome *Palekys* closed, that are likewise painted and guilded, and covered with that rich silken net-work. Some are carried in large litters by two strong camels, or by two small elephants, instead of mules: and in this manner I have sometimes seen carried Rauchenara-Begum; when, I also observed, that in the fore-part of her litter, being open, there was a little

she-slave, that with a peacocks-tail kept off from her the flies and dust. Lastly, others are carried upon elephants richly harnessed, and cover'd with embroider'd deckings, and great silver bells; where these ladies sit, raised, as 'twere, into the middle region of the air, four and four in *Mik-dembers* latticed, which always are cover'd with silken net-work, and are no less splendid and stately than the *Tchoudoules* and *Tattravans*.

I cannot forbear relating here, that in this voyage I took a particular pleasure in beholding and considering this pompous march of the seraglio. And certainly nothing more stately can be imagined, than to see Rauchenara-Begum march first, mounted upon a lusty elephant of Pegu in a *Mik-dember*, all shining of gold and azur, attended by five or six other elephants with their *Mik-dembers*, almost as splendid as hers, filled with the principal she-officers of her house; some of the most considerable eunuchs, richly adorned, and advantageously mounted, riding on her side, each with a cane in his hand; a troupe of Tartarian and Kachemirian maids, of honour about her, only and fantastically dressed, and riding on very pretty hackney-horses, and lastly, many other eunuchs on horseback accompanied with store of pages and lackeys, with great sticks in their hands, to make way afar off. After this Rauchenara-Begum, I saw pass one of the principal ladies of the Court, mounted and attended in proportion: and after this, a third in the same fashion; and then another, and so on to fifteen or sixteen all, (more or less) bravely mounted and accompanied according to their quality, pay, and office. Indeed

this long file of elephants to the number of fifty or sixty, or more, thus gravely marching with paces, as 'twere, counted, and withal this gallant train and equipage, does represent something that is great and-Royal; and if I had not beheld this pomp with a kind of philosophical indifference, I know not, whether I should not have suffered my self to be carried away to those extravagant sentiments of most of the Indian poets, who will have it, that all these elephants carry as many hidden Goddesses 'Tis true, one can hardly see them, and they are almost inaccessible by men; it would be a great misfortune to any poor cavalier whosoever, to be found in the field too near them in the march; all those eunuchs, and all the crue of servants are to the highest degree insolent, and desire nothing more than such a pretext and occasion to fall upon a man and give him some bastinadoes. I remember, I was once thus unfortunately surprized, and certainly I had been very ill used, as well as many other cavaliers, if at length I had not resolved to make my way out by my sword, rather than suffer my self to be thus maimed as they began to order the matter; and if by good luck I had not been provided with a good horse, that carried me vigorously out of the press, when I put him on thorow a torrent of people, that was to be repassed. And it is grown in a manner a common proverb of these armies, that, above all, one must beware of three things: first, not to let one self to be engaged amongst the troupes of the chosen led horse, they never failing to strike: secondly, not to come into the places of hunting: thirdly, not to approach too near the women of the seraglio. Yet

notwithstanding by what I hear, it is much less dangerous here than in Persia ; for there 'tis death to be found in the field in sight of the eunuchs that attend them, though you were half a league distant from them. It is required, that as many men as there are in this villages and burroughs, where they pass, do all abandon them, and retire afar off.

As to the hunting of the King, I know not first how to imagine what is commonly said, which is, that the Great Mogol goes to hunt with an hundred thousand men : but now I see, it may very well be said, that he goes to hunt with above two hundred thousand, nor is it a thing hard to comprehend. In the neighbouring places to Agra and Dehli, along the river Gemna as far as to the mountains, and even on both sides of the high way to Lahor, there is abundance of untilled lands, some of copse-wood, and some of grass above a mans height in all these places there are great numbers of guards, uncessantly roving up and down, and hindering all other people from hurting except partridges, quales and hares, which the Indians know to take with nets : so that every where in those places there is very great store of all kind of game. This being so, the hunting guards, when they know that the King is in the field, and near their quarters, give notice, to the great hunting-master, of the quality of the game, and of the place where most of it is then the guards do line all the avenues of that quarter, and that sometimes for above four or five leagues of ground, that so the whole army may pass by, either this or that way, and the King being in his march may at the same time enter into

it with as many Omrahs, hunters and other persons as he shall please, and there hunt at his ease, now in one manner and then in another, according to the difference of the game. And now behold first, how he hunteth the gazelles or wild fawns with tamed leopards.

I think, I have else where told you, that in the Indies there is store of gazelles, that are in a manner shaped as our hinds or fawns; that these gazelles commonly go in several troupes, and that every troupe, which never consists of above five or six, is alwaies follow'd by one only male, discernable by the colour. One of such troupes being discover'd, they endeavour to make the leopard see them, who is held chain'd upon a little chariot. This crafty animal doth not presently and directly run after them, but goes winding and turning, stopping and hiding himself, so to approach them with more advantage, and to surprize them: and as he is capable to make five or six leaps with an almost incredible swiftness, when he finds he is within reach, he lanceth himself upon them, worrieth them, and gluts himself with their blood, heart and liver: if he faileth (which often happens) he stands still, and it would be in vain for him to attempt to take them by running after them, because they run much faster, and hold out longer than he. Then the master comes gently about him, flattering him, and throwing him some pieces of flesh, and thus amusing him, puts something over his eyes to cover them, and so chains him, and puts him upon the chariot again. One of these leopards gave us once in our march this divertisement,

which frightened store of people. A troupe of gazelles appear'd in the midst of the army, as they will do every day; it chanced that they passed close to two leopards that were carried, as they use to be, upon their little chariot. One of them not blinded, made such an effort that he burst his chain, and darted himself after them, but without catching any of them: yet the gazelles, not knowing which way to escape, being pursued, cried after, and hunted on every side, there was one of them, that was forced to repass again near the leopard, who, notwithstanding the camels and horses that pestered all the way, and contrary to what is commonly said of this beast, that it never returns to its prey when it hath once failed of it, flew up on it and caught it.

The hunting of the *Nilgaux*, or gray oxen, which I said were a kind of elcks, hath no great matter in it. They are inclosed in great nets, that are by little and little drawn closer together, and when they are reduced to a small compass of enclosure, the King, the Omrahs, and the hunters do enter and kill them at pleasure with arrows, halt-pikes, sables or musquets; and sometimes in so great numbers, that the King sends quarters of them for presents to all the Omrahs.

The game of the cranes hath something of diversion. 'Tis a pleasure to see them defend themselves in the air against the birds of prey: they sometimes kill some of them; but at length, not being nimble in turning, many strong birds master them.

Of all the games that of the lion is the most Royal, because there are none but the King and the Princes that can exercise it (unless it be by a very particular

leave ;) but it is also the most dangerous. The manner of it is this. When the King is in the field, and the hunting-guards have discover'd the place of the lions retirement ; they tie fast an ass there-about, which the lion soon comes to devour, and without caring to look out for other prey, as oxen, cows, mutton or shepherds, he goes to seek for drink, and returns to his ordinary lodging place, where he lyes down and sleeps until next morning, when he finds another ass in the self-same place, which the hunters have fastned there as the day before ; and when they have thus baited and amused him several days in the same place, and now know that the King is nigh, they at length tie fast another ass, but whom they have made to swallow a quantity of opium, to the end that his flesh may the better lull asleep the lion, and then all the country-men of the circumjacent villages spread large and strong nets made for that purpose, which they also by degrees reduce to a small compass, as is practised in the hunting of *Nilgaur*. All things thus prepar'd, the King mounted on an elephant trap'd with iron, being attended by the great hunting-master, some Omrahs riding also on elephants, by abundance of *Gourse-berdars* on horse-back, and by a numerous hunting-guard on foot, arm'd with half-pikes, approacheth to the nets from without, and with a great musquet shoots at the lion ; who when he finds himself wounded, comes dierectly to the elephant, as his custom is : but he meets with those big nets stopping him, and the King shoots so often at him, that at last he kills him. Yet in this last hunting there was a lion that lept over these nets, fell upon

an horseman whose horse he kill'd, and then ran away : but the hunters met with him, and inclosed him again in the net, which caused a great disturbance to the army ; we were three or four days padding in small torrents running down the mountains, betwixt underwood and such long grass as that camels hardly can be seen therein ; and happy were these that had some provision of victuals ; for all was in disorder : the *Bazars* could not range themselves, and the villages were remote. The reason why we were to stop there so long, was, that as it is a good omen with the Indians when the King kills a lion, so it is a very ill one, when he faileth, and they think that the State would run great hazard if they should not master him. Hence 'tis also that they make many ceremonies upon the account of this hunting ; for they bring the dead lion before the King in the general assembly of the Omrahs, and after he hath been well view'd and exactly measur'd, 'tis recorded in the archives, that such a King, at such a time, slew a lion of such a bigness, of such hair, of so long and large teeth and claws, not omitting the least circumstances.

I shall here only add a word in reference to what is commonly said of the opium, that the ass is made to swallow, *viz.* that one of the chief hunters assur'd me, that it was but a tale of the vulgar, and that the lion slept sufficiently without it, when he had his belly full.

Now to return to our march ; when the great rivers, which in these quarters commonly have no bridges, are to be passed, there are made two boat-

bridges, about two or three hundred paces distant from one another ; which they know well enough how to chain and fasten together. Upon them they cast earth and straw mingled together, which preventeth the sliding of the animals. The first passing upon, and the coming from it are only dangerous, because, that besides the great croud, which then commonly throngeth, and that great confusion and embarasment, it often happens that pits or holes are made when 'tis moving earth ; and then you shall have horses and burthen'd oxen tumble upon one another, over whom people do pass with an incredible disorder ; which would be yet greater, if all were to pass in one day : but ordinarily the King encampeth but half a league from the bridge, where he stays a day or two, and he never almost encampeth farther than half a league from the river on the other side of the bridge, that so the army may have at least three days and three nights to pass more conveniently.

Lastly, as to the number of people that is found in the army, it is not so easie a thing to determine it. It is so differently spoken of, that one knows not what to judge of it. What I can tell you of it in the general, that is most probable, is this : that in this march there were at least, as to souldiers and other, an hundred thousand horse-men, and above an hundred and fifty thousand animals, as horses, mules or elephants ; that there were near fifty thousand camels, and almost as many oxen or asses, that serve to carry the grain, and other provisions of these poor people of the *Bazars*, their wives and children : for they lugg

all with them, as our Bohemians do. Upon this measure you may reckon pretty near the number of the serving people, supposing that nothing is there done but, by the force of servants, and that I, who am but in the rank of a cavalier of two horses, can hardly do my business with less than three men: some say, that in the whole army, there is scarce less than between three or four hundred thousand persons. Others reckon more; others less. No body ever told them to determine the precise number. I can say nothing of certainty, but only that 'tis a prodigious and almost incredible number; but then you are to imagine, that 'tis all Deili, the capital city, that marcheth, because that all the inhabitants of that town, living upon the Court and the army, are obliged to follow them, especially when the voyage is to be long, as this; or else they must starve

The difficulty is to know, whence and how so great an army can subsist in the field, so vast a number of people and beasts. For that, we must only suppose (which is very true) that the Indians live very soberly, and observe a very simple diet, and that of all this great number of cavaliers there is not the tenth, or not the twentieth man that in his march eats flesh: provided they have their *Kichery*, that is, their mixture of rice and other legums, upon which they pour butter when they are boyled, they are content. We are also to know, that camels endure labour, hunger and thirst extreamly well, live upon a little, and eat almost any thing, and that as soon as the army encampeth any where, the camel-drivers let them go into the field to brouze, where they eat whatever they light upon.

Besides, that the merchants that entertain *Bazars* in Dehli, are obliged to entertain them in the field : and that all the small merchants, that keep shop in the *Bazars* of Dehli, keep them also in the army, either by force, or out of necessity ; and lastly, that as to forage, all these poor people go roving up and down every where in the village, to buy what they can get, and to gain something by it ; and their great and common refuge is, with a kind of trowel to raspe or knock down whole fields, to beat and wash what they have there gotten, and so to carry it to sell to the army, which they do sometimes very cheap ; I forgot to mention one thing that's remarkable, *viz.* that the King enters into the camp, now on one side, then on another ; and that to day he passeth near the tents of certain Omrahs, and to morrow near those of others. Which he doth not without designs ; for the Omrahs, which he passeth by so near, are obliged to meet him, and to make him some small present or other ; so that some will present him with twenty Roupies of gold, which maketh thirty Pistols ; others with fifty, and so others in proportion, according to their generosity, and the greatness of their pay.

For the rest, you will excuse me, that I do not observe to you the towns and burroughs that are between Dehli and Lahor ; I have seen in a manner none of them, for I went almost always cross the fields, and in the night, because my *Agah* was not placed in the middle of the army, where often is the high way, but very forward in the right wing. We went as well as we could by star-light cross the fields to gain the right wing of the camp,

without seeking for the high way ; though sometimes we found our selves much perplexed, and in lieu of three or four leagues, which is the ordinary distance of one encampment from one another, we sometimes made five or six ; but when the day comes on, we soon found our selves where we should be.

THE THIRD LETTER.

A Description of Lahor, the capital of Penjab, or the kingdom of the Five Waters.

SIR,

IT is not without reason, that this kingdom, of which Lahor is the capital city, is called Penjeab, or the country of the Five Waters, because there are actually five considerable rivers coming down from those mountains, within which the kingdom of Kachemire is lock'd up, and that run cross this tract of land to fall into the river Indus, discharging themselves together into the ocean at Scymdi, towards the entry of the Persian Gulph. Whether Lahor be that ancient Bucephalos, I decide not. Mean time. Alexander is sufficiently known here under the name of *Sekan-der Filifous*, that is, Alexander Son of Philip ; but as to his horse, they know it not. The city of Lahor is built upon one of these five rivers, which is not less than our river Loire, and for which there is great need of a like bank, because it maketh great devastation, and often

changeth its bed, and hath but lately retired it self from Lahor for a quarter of a league ; which very much incommodeth the inhabitants. The houses of Lahor have this peculiar above those of Dehli and Agra, that they are very high, but most of them are ruinous, because 'tis now more then twenty years that the Court is alwayes at Dehli or at Agra, and that in these later years the rains have been so excessive, that they have overthrown many of them, whereby also much people hath been killed. 'Tis true, there remain still five or six considerable streets, of which there are two or three that are above a league long ; but in them also are many buildings found that fall down. The Kings Palace is no longer upon the river side, as it was formerly, because that the river hath left it. It is very high, and magnificent ; yet those of Agra and Dehli do much surpass it. It is now above two months that we are here, expecting the melting of the snow of the mountains of Kachemire, for a more convenient passage into that kingdom. But at length we are to depart to morrow. The King hath been gone these two dayes. I have got a little Kachemirian tent, which I bought yesterday. I was advised to do like others, and to leave here my ordinary tent, which is big and heavy enough, because, they say, that between the mountains of Kachemire, whither we are now marching, it will be difficult to find room enough, and that the camels not having place enough to pass, we shall be obliged to get our baggage carried by porters, and that so my large tent would cost me much to carry. Adieu.

THE FOURTH LETTER.

SIR,

I BELIEVED, that after we had overcome the heats of Maok, near Babel-mandel, I could defie those of the rest of the earth, but since these four dayes that the army left Lahor, I find I come very short of my reckoning, and I have experimented to the hazard of my life, that is not without reason, that the Indians themselves did apprehend the eleven or twelve dayes march of the army, from Lahor to Bamber, the entry of the mountains of Kachemire. I protest unto you, without any exaggaration, that the heats have been so excessive, that sometimes they have reduced me to extremity, insomuch that I knew not in the morning whether I should live till night. The cause of this extraordinary heat is, that the high mountains of Kachemire being on the north of our road, keep from us all the cool wind that might come and refresh us from that quarter, and do reflect the sun-beams upon us, and leave the field burnt up and choaking. But to what purpose, to play the philosopher, and to seek reasons for that, which perhaps will kill me to morrow.

THE FIFTH LETTER.

SIR,

I PASSED yesterday one of the greatest rivers of the Indies called the Tchenau. The excellency of its

water, of which the great Omrahs make provision in lieu of that of Ganges (whereof they have drunk hitherto) keeps me from believing this to be some river to pass to hell, rather than to Kachemire, where they would make us believe we shall find snow and ice for find it grow worse and worse every day, and that the more we advance, the more heat we feel. 'Tis true that I pass'd the bridge at noon day, but I almost knew not, which was best, to march in the field, or to keep ones self stuff'd up under a tent at least, I have succeeded in my design, which was, to pass the bridge with ease, whilst all men did repose themselves, expecting to leave the camp towards evening when the heat is not so violent, whereas if I had staid as the rest did, some mischief perhaps might have befallen me. For it hath been, I hear, the most terrible confusion, and the greatest disorder that ever was in any the like former passage from Dehli, the entering upon the first boat, and the going off from the last, having been made very difficult, because it was meet moving sand which as people marched upon it, and stirr'd it, did slide away into the water, and left a pit, insomuch that a great number of camels, oxen and horses were in the crowd overthrown and trampled under foot, and store of blows distributed besides there are ordinarily upon such occasions, some officers and cavaliers of the Omrahs, who to make way for their masters and their baggage, are not sparing of them. My *Narah* hath lost one of his camels with the iron oven it carried, which maketh me apprehend, I shall be reduced to the bread of *Bazar*. Farewel.

THE SIXTH LETTER.

SIR,

IT is too much curiosity, 'tis folly, or at least temerity in a European to expose himself to such heats and dangerous marches; it is putting ones self into manifest peril of life. Yet notwithstanding, misfortune is good for something. Whilst we stayed at Lahor, I was seized on by a flux, and by gripings, which did very much incommode me; caused by my constant lying upon a terrasse, and taking the cool of the night, as we use to do at Dehli without danger. But since we have been marching these eight, or nine dayes, the sweat hath dissipated all those humors. My body is become a right sieve, very dry, and I have no sooner taken into my stomach a pint of water (for less will not serve our turn) but I see it at the same time issue out of my limbs like a dew to the very ends of my fingers. I believe I have this day drunk above ten pints. And this is some comfort, that one may drink of it as much as one lists, without danger, provided it be good water.

THE SEVENTH LETTER,

TO THE SAME.

*Written from the army, marching from Lahor to
Kachemur, the 1st of March in the morning*

SIR,

THE sun is but just now rising, yet he is intolerable there is not a cloud in the sky, not a breath of wind;

my horses are spent, they have not seen a green herb since we came out of labour; my Indians for all their black, dry and hard, skin, sink under it. My face, hands and feet are peeled off, and my body is covered all over with pimples, that prick me as so many needles. Yesterday one of our poor cavaliers, that had no tent, was found dead at the foot of a small tree, he had seized on. I doubt, whether I shall outlive this days journey; all my hope is in a little dry curdled milk, which I am going to dilute with water and sugar, and some limons, I have left, to make limonade. Farewel; the ink dryeth at the end of my pen, and the pen falls out of my hand. Farewell.

THE EIGHTH LETTER,

TO THE SAME.

Written from Bember, the entry of the mountains of Kachemire, after having two days encamped there. What Bember is; the change of carriages for the mountins; the incredible number of porters, and the order observed in the army.

SIR,

WE are at length arrived at Bember, the foot of a steep, black, and burn'd mountain, and we are encamped in the channel of a large torrent dried up, full of sand and stones burning hot; it is like an hot oven: and if it were not for the shower of rain, we had this morning, and for the curdled milk, the limons, and the fowl brought to us from the mountains, I knew not what would have become of me, and you would perhaps

never have seen this letter. But, God be thanked; I feel the air a little cooler; my stomach, strength, and tongue are returned. So then take this account of our new kind of march and trouble.

Yester-night the King first of all, together with Rauchenara-Begum, and the other women of the seraglio, the Raja Ragnat that performs the office of the Vizir, and Fasel-kan the High Steward, went away from this burning place, and last night the great hunting master departed with some of the greatest and most necessary officers of the Royal family, and many considerable women. This night 'tis our turn; my *Navab* Danech-mend-kan will go away, and Mahmet Emir-kan, the son of that famous Emir-jemla, of whom I have spoken so much in another place, will be of our company; and so will Dianet-kan, our good friend, with his two sons, and many other Omrahs, Rajahs and Manseb-dars: and after us, all the other Lords, that are bound for Kachemire will be gone all in their turns, to avoid in these difficult and narrow ways of the mountains, the trouble and confusion, during these five days of marching between this place and Kachemire. All the rest of the Court, as Fedaykan, the great master of the artillery, three or four great Rajas, and many Omrahs, are to stay hereabout for a guard, during three or four months, until the King do return after the great heats are over. Some shall go to dress their tents on the one side of the river Tchenau, others in the neighbouring towns and borroughs, and others will be obliged to camp here in this fire of Bember.

The King for fear of starving this small kingdom

of Kachemire, first carries with him the least number of women he can, the greatest ladies, the best friends of Rauchenara-Begum, and those that are most necessary for service. Nor doth he carry more of the Omrahs and militia than he needs must: and the Omrahs that have leave to come with him cannot take with them all the cavaliers, but only 25 of 100, yet without comprehending therein the particular officers of their family. And that is to be religiously observ'd, because there is an Omrah upon the guard at the entry of the mountains, that reckons all that pass, one by one, and hinders the passing of that great number of Manseb-dars and other cavaliers, that would fain go and enjoy the cool air of Kachemire; as also all those small merchants and little people of *Bazar* that seek to gain a livelyhood. The King, for the carriage of necessities and the women of the seraglio, taketh with him some of the strongest and best elephants. These beasts, though gross and unwieldy, are very sure-footed, and in ill way they march very warily, assuring themselves first of one foot before they remove the other. He taketh also some mules with him; but camels, the most necessary, he cannot make use of in this passage; these mountains being too steep and craggy for their long shanked and stiff leggs: porters must supply their places; and what number you think must there be, if the King alone, as they say, hath above six thousand for his occasions, and I, a private man, though I have left at Lahor my ordinary tent and much of my baggage, as every one hath done, even the King himself and the Omrahs, find my self obliged to have three of them? 'Tis believed,

there are already no less than fifteen thousand, partly of those which the Governour of Kachemire and the Rajas here about have compelled to be here, partly of those that come hither of their own accord out of the neighbouring villages to earn something ; for a man is obliged, following the Kings order, to give them ten crowns for an hundred pound weight. 'Tis said, that, in all, there are above thirty thousand of them, without reckoning that a month ago the King and the Omrahs sent away some baggage before, and the merchants, all sorts of commodities.

THE NINTH LETTER.

An exact description of the kingdom of Kachemire, and the present state of the neighbouring mountains ; together with an answer to five considerable questions of a friend.

SIR,

THE histories of the ancient Kings of Kachemire tell us, that all that countrey was formerly nothing but a great lake ; and there was an old holy man, called Kacheh, that gave an outlet to the waters by a miraculous cut he made in the mountain of Bara-moule. This may be seen in the abridgment of these histories, which Jehan-Guire caused to be made, and which I am translating out of the Persian tongue. For my part, I would not deny, all this land to have once been cover'd with water ; the like is affirmed of

with us, nor are they so excellent as ours ; but I believe that that is not the fault of the soil, but that, if they had as good gardeners as we, knowing to cultivate and graft trees, to chuse proper places and proper stocks, and to send grafts from forreign countries they would have as many and as good as we ; because among that number of divers 'sorts, which I often caused to be 'brought to me, I have frequently met with very excellent ones.

The capital city, which is of the same name with that of the kingdom, is without walls ; 'tis three quarters of a league long, and half a league broad ; scituate in a plain, about two leagues distant from mountains, which seem to make as 'twere a semi-circle ; and standing upon a lake of sweet water of four or five miles in compass, which is made up of live-springs, and of rivulets running down the mountains, and disgorgeth it self by a navigable channel into the river which passeth through the midst of the town. This river hath in the town two wooden bridges over it for communication. Most houses are of wood, but well built, and of two or three stories high ; not as if they had not very good free stone there (many old Idol-Temples ruined, and other buildings made of it, bein yet to be seen ;) but the abundance of wood, easily descending from the mountains by little rivers, which it is cast into, maketh people find that way of building turn to better account. The houses that stand upon the river have almost all of them their little garden, lying upon the water ; which maketh a very pleasant perspective, especially in the spring and summer, when men walk on the river-side. The other

houses that stand not upon the river, have also almost all of them some garden; and there are a good number of such, that have a channel answering to the lake, and the little boat to go and divert themselves upon it.

In one end of the town there appears an hill, loose from all the rest, which maketh another very agreeable prespective, because on its declivity there stand very fine houses with gardens and on the top a Mosquee and an Heremitage well built with a garden, and store of fine green trees: and 'tis upon the account of these trees and gardens, that in the language of the country 'tis called *Haryperbet*, as if you should say, the Mountain of Verdure.

Opposite to this hill there is seen another, on which there is also a Mosquee, but a little one, together with a garden, and a very ancient building, which seems to have been a Temple of Idols, though they call it *Tact Soutiman*, that is, the Throne of Solomon, because that Soloman, as the Mahumetans say, caused it to be built when he came to Kachemire; but how they will prove, that Solomon made this voyage, I know not.

The lake hath this peculiar, that 'tis full of little isles, which are as many gardens of pleasure, that appear all green in the midst of the water, by reason of those fruit-bearing trees, and of the walks, on both sides set with arbors, and because they are surrounded with large-leaved aspen-trees, standing at two foot distance from one another; the biggest whereof may be clasped about, but as tall as masts of great ships having only a tuft of branches at the top like palm-trees

Beyond the lake, upon the side of the hills, there is nothing but houses and gardens of pleasure, the place having been found wonderfully proper for it, as being in a very fine air, in the view of the lake, the isles, and the town, and full of springs and rivulets.

The most admirable of all these gardens is that of the King, which is called *Chah-limar*. From the lake, one enters into it by a great canal, border'd with great green turfs. This canal is above five hundred common paces long, and runs, twixt two large allees of poplars : it leadeth to a great cabinet in the midst of the garden, where begins another canal far more magnificent, which runs with a little rising unto the end of the garden. This canal is paved with large free-stone ; its sloping side cover'd with the same ; and in the midst of it, there is a long row of jets of water, from 15 to 15 foot. There are also, from space to space, great rounds of water serving for store-houses, whence many jets of water, variously figured, do spring up : and this canal ends at another great cabinet, which is almost like the first.

These cabinets, which are in a manner made like domes, scituate in the middle of the canal; and encompassed with water, and consequently between those two great allees of poplars, have a gallery that reigneth round about, and four gates opposite to one another ; two of which do respect the allees, with two bridges to pass over, one on one side, and the other on the other ; the other two look upon the opposite canals. Each cabinet consists of a great chamber in the midst of four other lesser chambers, which are in the four corners : all is painted and gilded

within, the great chamber as well as the little ones, having sentences with great letters in the Persian tongue written upon them. The four gates are very rich ; they are made of great stones, with two columns, taken from those ancient Idol-temples, ruin'd by Chah-Jehan. The price of these great stones and pillars is not well known, nor what kind of stone they be ; though it appears sufficiently, that 'tis a sort of precious stone, finer than marble or porphyre.

From all that hath been said, one may easily conjecture, that I am somewhat charmed with Kachemire, and that I pretend, there is perhaps nothing in the world like it for so small a kingdom. It deserves very well to reign over all those neighbouring mountains as far as Tartary, and over all Indostan, as far as Ceilon, as once it did : and 'tis not without some cause, that the Mogols call it the terrestrial Paradise of the Indies ; that Ekbar took so much pains to make himself master of it ; and that his son Jehan-Guire became so amorous thereof, that he could not leave it ; and often said, he would rather lose all his empire, than Kachemire. And from the time that we arrived there, all the Poëts, both Kachemirians and Mogolians, strove to make poems to the praise of this little kingdom, to present them to Aureng-Zebe, who gladly received and rewarded them. I remember, that among others, there was one, that exaggerating the extraordinary height of the mountains encompassing it, and rendring it almost inaccessible any where, said, that the top of these mountains was the cause, that the Heavens did retire into the figure of a vault, as we see it ; and that Kachemire being the master-piece of nature, and the

King of the kingdoms of the world, it was sutable it should be hard of access, and so enjoy an undisturbed peace and tranquility, commanding all, and not being liable to be commanded by any. He added, that the reason why nature had surrounded it with mountains, of which some, namely the highest and most remote, were alwaies white and covered with snow, the lowermost and the next to the plain, all green and covered with wood, was, because that the King of the kingdoms of the world was to wear the most precious crown, the top whereof was to be of diamonds, and the bottom of emeralds. If the Poet had added (said I to my *Navab* Danech-mend-kan; who was willing to make me admire all those poems) that all those great countries of mountains that environ it, as the little Tibet, the State of the Raja Gamon, Kachguer, and Serenguer, are to be comprehended under the kingdom of Kachemire; since according to the history of the countrey, they once depended from it, and consequently that the river Ganges on the one side, that of Indus on the other, the Chenau on a third, and the Gemna on the fourth, do issue out of Kachemire; that these rivers, with so many others that run thence, do counter-vail the Gihon, the Pison,* and the two others; and if at last he had concluded, that this was certainly the true Terrestrial Paradise, rather than that in Armenia, this would have much enhanced the worth of all his commendations.

The Kachemirians have the reputation of being a very witty people, much more intelligent and dexterous than the Indians, and as fit for Poesie and

* *Gen.* 2. 11, 12, 13, 14.

Sciences as the Persians. Besides, they are very industrious and willing to take pains ; they make *Palekys* trunks, bed-steds, standishes, boxes, spoons, and many other pieces, and all of good and very handsome workmanship, sent over all the Indies. They know how to give it a good vernish, and so dexterously to counterfeit the veins of a certain wood that hath very fine ones, by applying gold-string upon it, that there is nothing finer. But what is peculiar and considerable in them, and which draws the trade and silver into their countrey, is that prodigious quantity of stuffs call'd *chales* which they work there, and employ their little children in. These *chales* are certain kinds of stuff an Ell and a half long, and about an Ell broad which are embroidered at each en with a kind of embroidery about a foot large. The Mogols and Indians, both men and women, wear of them in winter upon their heads, passing them over their left shoulder like a mantle. They make two sorts of them ; one, of the wool of the countrey, which is finer than that of Spain ; the other, of a wool or rather of an hair, they call *Touz*, taken, from the breast of a wild goat of the great Tibet. These latter are of a far greater price than the former ; neither is there any castor so soft and delicate. The mischief is, the worms get easily into it, unless you have a particular care often to unfold and air them. I have seen of these which the Omrahs purposely caused to be made, which cost an hundred and fifty Roupies : of the others that are made of the wool of the country ; I have seen none that cost above fifty.

'Tis observed of these *chales*, that, work them never so carefully in Patna, Agra, and Lahor, you shall never make the stuff so soft and fine, as in Kachemire; which is commonly imputed to the particular water of the countrey: as at Maslipatan they make those fine stuffs, which become fairer by washing.

The Kachemirian are also famous for their good complexion. They look as well as our Europeans, and have nothing of a Tartarian flat-nos'd and little ey'd face, as those of Kachguer, and most of the people of the great Tibet. The women especially are very beautiful; and therefore all strangers, that are new-comers to the Court of Mogol, are furnished from thence, that so they may have children whiter than the Indians, and which by these means may pass for true Mogols. And certainly, if one may judge of the beauty of the retired women by that of the common people, met with in the streets, and seen up and down in the shops, we must believe, that there are very handsom ones. At Lahor, where they have the repute of being proper and slender, and the handsomest of the brown lasses of the Indies (as really they are) I used an art which is ordinary among the Mogols, which is, to follow some elephants, especially those that are richly harnessed; for as soon as those women hear the two bells hanging on the sides of those beasts, they all put their heads out of the windows. The same trick I used here; and I made also use of another, in which I succeeded very well; it was devised by an old and famous master of a school, whom I had taken to

help me to understand a Persian poet. He made me buy store of confits ; and he being known and welcom every where, carried me into above 15 houses, telling them that I was his kinsman, newly come out of Persia, that I was rich and to be married : as soon as we came into a house, he distributed confits to the children, and presently all come about us, women and children, great and small, to have their share, or to be seen. This curiosity alone cost me many a good Roupie ; but it confirm'd me, that in Kachemire there are as fair faces, as in any place of Europe.

There remains only to impart unto you what I observed most considerable between the mountains, from Bember hither, (with which perhaps I should have begun ;) and after having given you account of some other little voyages I have been obliged to make divers parts of this kingdom, you will learn all I could come to know of the rest of the circumjacent mountains.

Concerning therefore first our voyage from Bember hither, it seem'd to me surprising enough, to find my self, from the first night that we parted from Bember, and entred into the mountains, pass from a torrid to a temperate zone : for we had no sooner mounted this dreadful wall of the world, I mean this high, steep, black and bald mountain, of Bember, but that in descending on the other side, we found an air that was pretty tollerable, fresh, gentle and temperate. But that which surprised me more in these mountains, was, to find my self, in a trice, transported out of the Indies into Europe. For

seeing the earth covered with all our plants and shrubs, except issop, thyme, marjoram and rosemary, I imagined I was in some of our mountains of Auvergne, in the midst of a forest of all our kinds of trees, pines, oaks, elms, plane-trees. And I was the more astonish'd because in all those burning fields of Indostan, whence I came, I had seen almost nothing of all that.

Among other things relating to plants, this surprised me, that one and a half days journey from Bember I found a mountain, that was cover'd with them on both sides, but with this difference, that on the side of the mountain that was southerly, toward the Indies, there was a mixture of Indian and European plants, and on that which was exposed to the north I observ'd none but European ones; as if the former had participated of the air and temper of Europe and the Indies, and the other had been merely European.

As to the trees, I admired this natural course of generations and corruptions: below in these bottoms, where perhaps no man ever was, I saw hundreds that were falling, or fallen, one upon another, dead and half rotten of age; and other young and verdant ones growing out of the foot of those that were dead: some of them also I saw burnt, whether it was from lightning, or that in the heat of summer they had taken fire by rubbing themselves against one another, when they were agitated by some hot and impetuous wind; or, as the country people say, that they take fire of themselves, when they are grown old and dry.

I admired also those natural *cascata's* of water, which

we found between those rocks. We met, among others, one of them so wonderful, that doubtless, it cannot be parallel'd. One seeth a far off from the side of an high mountain, running down a torrent of water in a channel cover'd with trees, and precipitate it self in a trice to the bottom of a steep rock of stupendious height, with a noise that is able to strike one deaf, like a cataract. There was erected near it, a theatre, upon a rock, which Jehan-Guire had caused purposely to be made plain, that the Court passing, might there repose themselves and from thence with conveniency behold this admirable work-man-ship of nature ; which as well as those old trees, I was just now speaking of, seems to resemble something of great antiquity, and of the first production of the world.

All these divertisements were blended with an odd accident. On the day, that the King went up the mountain of Pire-penjale, which is the highest of all, and whence one begins to discover a far off the country of Kachemire ; on that day, I say, that the King ascended this mountain, being followed by a long row of elephants upon which sate the women in *Mik-dembers*, and *Embarys* ; one of those elephants was frightened by beholding, as the Indians would have it, such a long and steep ascent, and fell back upon him that was next, and he upon the next, and so on to the fifteenth, so that not one of them being able to turn in this way, which was extreamly rude and steep, they all tumbled into the precipice. It was good fortune for those poor women, that the precipice it self was not very steep, so that there were but three

or four of them kill'd ; but the fifteen elephants remain'd upon the place. When these bulky masses do once fall under those vast burthens they are loaden with, they never rise again, though the way be never so fair. We saw them two days after, in passing by, and I observed some of them yet stirring their trunk. This accident put the whole army, which had marched four days along the mountains in file into great disorder, because to recover these women and all that wreck, a stop was made for the remainder of that day and all the night, every one being necessitated to stop where he was, because it was in many places impossible to advance or to go back, and none had near him those porters that carried his tent and victuals. As for my self, I was not in the worst condition, having found means to creep out of the way, and to take the conveniency of a small place to lye down in, for my self and my horse. And, to my good luck, one of my servants that follow'd me had a little bread which we shared together. I remember, it was there where stirring some stones we found a great black scorpion, which a young Mogol of my acquaintance took, and squeezed it in his own hand, and then in the hand of my servant, and at last in mine, without our being stung by him. This young cavalier said, that he had charm'd him, as he had done many others before, by a passage of the *Alcoran*, which he would not teach me, because, he said, the power of charming would pass to me and leave himself, as it had passed to him by quitting his teacher.

In traversing this same mountain of Pire-penjale, where the elephants tumbled down, there occur'd,

those things, which call'd to my mind some of my former philosophical thoughts. The first was, that in less than an hour we felt summer and winter ; for in ascending we did sweat gross drops, all men going on foot in a burning sun ; and when we came to the top of the mountain, we yet found the icy snow, that had been cut to open the way ; there was a frost upon a misling rain, and there blew a wind so cold, that all people shook and run away, especially the silly Indians, who never had seen ice or snow, nor felt such a cold.

The second was, that in less than two hundred paces I met with two quite contrary winds ; one from the north, which blew in my face ascending, especially when I came near the top, and another from the south, which blew against my back in descending ; as if this hill had protruded exhalations out of its bowels from all sides, which coming forth had caused, a wind that had descended and taken its course in those two opposite dales.

The third was the meeting an old Hermit, that had lived on the top of this mountain since the time of Jehan-Guire, and whose religion was not known ; though it was said, that he did miracles, caused strange thunders when he would, and raised storms of hail, snow, rain and wind. He look'd somewhat savage-like, having a long and large white beard uncombed. He asked alms somewhat fiercely ; suffer'd us to take up water in earthen cups, he had ranged upon a great stone ; made signe with his hand, importing that we should speedily march away, and grumbled at those that made a noise, because, said he to me, (when I

was come into his cave, and had a little sweetned his looks with half a Roupy, which with much humility I put into his hand) "a noise raiseth furious storms and tempests." "Aureng-Zebe," said he further, "did very well in following my counsel, and not permitting to make a noise : Chah-Jehan always took care of the same ; but Jehan-Guire once mocking at it, and causing trumpets and cymbals to sound, was like to have perished here."

In reference to the little voyages I have made in divers parts of this kingdom, behold the particulars I took notice of as I passed. We were no sooner arrived at Kachemire, but my *Navab* Danech-mendkan sent me, together with one of his horse-men for a convoy, and a country-man, to one of the extremities of this kingdom, three small days journey from hence, upon the relation made him, that this was the very time to see the wonders (for so they speak of them) of a spring that is thereabout. These wonders are, that in the month of May, the time when the snow begins but to melt, this fountain, for about the space of fifteen days, regularly flows and stops thrice a day at break of day, at noon and at night : its flowing ordinarily lasts three quarters of an hour, more or less, and that plentifully enough, to fill a square receptacle, having steps to go down to it, and being about ten or twelve foot broad, and as many foot deep. After the first fifteen days, its course begins to be less regular and less copious ; and at length, after a month or thereabout, it quite stops and runs no more for the rest of the year, unless it be, that during some plentiful and long rains, it flows incessantly and without rule, as

other fountains do. The Gentiles have on the side of the receiver a little temple of the Idol of *Brare*, which is one of their false Deities; and thence it is that they call this fountain *Send-Brary*, as if you should say, Water of Brare; and that thither they come from all parts in pilgrimage, to bathe and sanctifie themselves in this miraculous water. Upon the origin of this water they make many fables, which I shall not recite to you, because I find not the least shadow of truth in them. During the five or six days of my stay there, I did what possible I could to find the reason of this wonder. I did attentively consider the situation of the mountain, at the foot of which this spring is found: I went to the very top with great pains, searching and prying every where. I observed that it extends it self in length from north to south; that 'tis sever'd from other mountains, which yet are very near to it; that it is in the form of an asses back; that its top, which is very long, hath not much more than an hundred paces where it is largest; that one of the side of the mountain, which is cover'd with nothing but green grass, is exposed to the east, yet so that the sun comes not to shine on't before eight a clock in the morning, because of the other opposite mountains; and lastly, that the other side, which is expos'd to the west, is covered with trees and bushes. All this being considered, I did imagine, that the heat of the sun, together with the particular situation and the internal disposition of the mountain, might very well be the cause of this pretended miracle that the morning sun, coming briskly to strike on the side opposite thereto, heats it, and melts part of the frozen waters, which during

the winter, when all was covered with snow, had insinuated themselves into the inner parts of the earth of this mountain; that these waters penetrating, and by little and little running down unto certain beds of quick rock, which retain and convey them toward the spring-head, cause the flowing of the fountain at noon; that the same sun, raised to the south, and leaving that other side, now growing cold, for to strike with its beams as 'twere perpendicularly, the top, doth also melt other frozen waters, which likewise run down by little and little as the other, but by other turnings, unto those rocky beds and cause at night: and that lastly, the sun flowing heating likewise this western side, produceth the like effect, and causes the third flux in the morning; which is slower than the two others, either because this western side is remote from the eastern where the source is; or because that being covered with wood, it is not so soon heated; or by reason of the cold of the night. Now I found this my reasoning the more cogent, forasmuch as it seems to agree with what is affirmed, that in the first days the water comes in greater abundance than in the latter; and that at last it stops, and runs not at all, as if indeed in the beginning there were of those frozen waters greater plenty in the earth than at last. It seems also to agree with what observed, that there are some days in the beginning, in which one flux is found more abounding than than other, and sometimes more at noon than in the evening or morning, or in the morning more than at noon; it commonly falling out so that some days there are hotter than others, or that some clouds arise

which interrupt the quality of the heat, and consequently make the flux unequal.

Returning from Send-Brary I turn'd a little aside from the road to go and lye at *Achiavel*, which is an house of pleasure of the ancient Kings of Kachemire, and at present, of the Great Mogol. That which most adorns it, is a fountain, the water where of diffuseth it self on all sides round about that fabrick (which is not despicable) and into the gardens by an hundred canals. It breaks out of the earth, as if by some violence it ascended up from the bottom of a well, and that with such an abundance as might make it to be called a river rather than a fountain. The water of it is admirably good, and so cold that one can hardly endure to hold ones hand in it. The garden it self is very fine, there being curious walks in it, and store of fruit-bearing trees, of apples, pears, prunes, apricocks and cherries, and many jets of waters of various figures, and ponds replenish'd with fish, together with a very high cascata of water, which by its fall making a great nape of thirty or forty paces long, which hath an admirable effect, especially in the night, when under this nape there is put a great number of little lamps fitted in holes purposely made in the wall; which maketh a curious shew.

From *Achiavel* I went yet a little more out of my way to pass through another Royal garden, which is also very beautiful, and hath the same pleasantness with that of *Achiaval*, but this is peculiar in it, that in one of its ponds there are fishes that come when they are called, and when you cast bread to them; the biggest whereof have golden rings in their noses, with

inscriptions about them, which they say that renowned Nour-Mehalle, the wife of Jehan-Guire, the grandfather of Aureng-Zebe, caused to be fastened in them.

I was no sooner returned from Send-Brary, but Danech-mend-kan, well satisfied with my voyage, made me undertake one more, to see another sure miracle, as he call'd it, which should be capable to make me soon change my religion, and turn Musselman. "Go," saith he, "to Baramoulay, which is not further from hence than Send-Brary; there you shall find a Mosquee in which is the tomb of one of our *Pires* or Saints, which still every day works miracles in curing sick people, that flock thither from all parts: it may be, that you will believe nothing of all those miraculous cures you shall see; but you will at least believe one miracle, which is done every day, and you may see with your own eyes: and that is of a big round stone, which the strongest man is hardly able to raise in the least from the ground, but yet eleven men, by praying to that Saint, lift up, as if it were a straw, with the end of their eleven fingers, without any trouble at all, and without being sensible of any weight." Hereupon I began this journey also, accompanied with my horseman and the countrey-fellow, and being arrived at Baramoulay, I found it a place pleasant enough. The Mosquee is sufficient well built, the tomb of the pretended Saint well adorn'd, and round about it there was store of people of great devotion, who said they were sick. Near the Mosquee there was a kitchen with large kettles full of flesh and rice, which, in my opinion,

was the magnet drawing the sick people thither, and the miracle that cured them. On the other side was the garden and the chambers of the *Mullahs*, who with great conveniency, and delight spend their life there, under the shadow of the miraculous sanctity of this *Pire*, which they are not wanting to celebrate: but as I am always very unhappy in such occasions, he did no miracle that day upon any of the sick. As for the great stone, which was the business I c for; there were eleven cheats of these *Mullahs* that crowded together in a round, and by their long vests hindred me from seeing well in what manner they took and lifted it up, yet said all, that they held it only with the end of one of their fingers, and that it was as light as a feather. For my part, who had my eyes open, and look'd on narrowly, I perceived well enough, that they took great pains, and they seemed to me, that they used also the thumb, which they held very firm upon the second finger bent and closed: but yet I was not wanting to cry out as well as the *Mullahs* and all the other assistants, *Karamet Karamet*, "miracle, miracle"; giving at the same time a Roupy, for the *Mullahs*, and with great shew of devotion praying them to favour me with suffering me once to be one of the eleven lifters up of the stone. They did hesitate long before they resolved to permit it; but having given them another Roupy, and made them believe I was perswaded of the truth of the miracle, one of the eleven gave me his place, they doubtless imagining, that ten of them joyned together would be sufficient to do the business, though I should not add much to it, and that they would so

range themselves and crowd together, that I should perceive nothing of their imposture. But they found themselves egregiously deceived, when they saw, that the stone, which I would not support but only by the end of my finger, alwayes inclined and fell to my side, untill at length I found it necessary to put my thumb to it, and to hold it with my finger as they did; and then we lifted it up from the earth, yet not without much pain. Notwithstanding which, when I saw that they all looked upon me asquint, not knowing what to make of me, I still went on crying like the rest, *Karamet*, "miracle, miracle" and over and above casting to them another Roupy to secure my self from being ston'd; and stealing away from among the crowd, I presently took horse, without eating or drinking, and left the Saint and the miracles to those that had faith enough to believe them: observing, as I passed along that famous opening, which is an outlet to all the waters of this kingdom, of which I have already said something in the beginning of this book.

I left my way again, to approach to a great lake, which I saw afar off, through the middle whereof passeth the river that runs to Baramoulay. It is full of fish, especially eels, and covered with ducks and wild fowl, and many other river fowl. 'Tis where the Governour comes in winter, at which time 'tis covered with those creatures to divert himself with fowling. In the midst of this lake there is an Eremitage with its little garden, which as they say, doth miraculously float upon the water, and where the Eremité passeth his life without ever going from it. Besides

which, they make a thousand other ridiculous tales of it, which are not worth reciting, unless perhaps you will except what some have told me. That it was one of those ancient Kings of Kachemire, who out of curiosity caused this Eremitage to be built upon thick beams fastend to one another.

Thence I went to find out a fountain, which hath something that's rare enough in it ; bubbling up gently and rising with some little impetuosity, and making small bubbles of air, and carrying with it, to the top some small sand that is very fine, which goeth away again as it came, the water becoming still, a moment after it, without ebullition, and without bringing up sand ; and soon after beginning afresh as before ; and so continuing its motion by intervals, which are not regular. But the wonder, as they say, consists in this that the least noise, made by speaking, or by knocking ones foot against the ground, moveth the water, maketh it run and bubble as was said. Yet I found plainly, that speaking or knocking availeth nothing to produce that effect, and that it moveth as well when one saith nothing as when one speaks or knocketh. But now, to give the true cause of it, that requireth more thinking than I have bestow'd upon it ; unless one should say, that the sand, by falling down again obstructeth the narrow channel of this small and weak spring, until the water, being closed up and kept in it, make an effort to remove and raise again the sand, and so to disengage it self ; or rather, that some wind, pent in the channel of the spring, rises by turns, as it comes to pass in artificial fountains.

After we had considered this fountain, we entred

into the mountains to see a great lake, which hath ice in summer, and looketh like a little icy sea, having heaps of ice, made and unmade by the winds. Afterwards we passed through a certain place, call'd *Seng-safed*, that is, white stone ; which is famous for being full all the summer long of all sorts of flowers like a perterre, and for this observation, that when much people goes thither, making a great noise and much stirring the air, there presently falls a shower of rain. This is certain, that when, some years since, Chah-Jehan went thither, he was in danger of perishing by the great and extraordinary rain survening, though he had commanded, they should make the least noise they could. This agreed with what my Eremite of Pirepengale had told me.

And now I was going to a grotta of odd congelations, which is two days journey from thence ; but I received news, that after my so long absence my *Navab* was troubled about me.

As to the condition of the neighbouring mountains round about, I have, since our being here, done what possibly I could to inform my self about them ; but I have profited but little, for want of people that are intelligent and observe things ; yet notwithstanding I will not omit to relate to you what I have learn'd of it.

The merchants of Kachemire, that go every year from mountain to mountain, gathering fine wool to make those stuffs I have above been speaking of, do all agree, that between the mountains, which still depend from Kachemire, there are found very fine places of good land, and that amongst others there

is one place, which pays it tribute in leather and wooll, sent for by the Governour every year ; and where the women are extream handsome, chaste and laborious ; that there is also another farther off from Kachemire, which also pays its tribute in leather and wooll, and hath very pretty, though but small, fertile plains, and most pleasant vallies, abounding in corn, rice, apples, pears, excellent apricocks and melons ; as also in raisins yielding very good wine, the inhabitants whereof have sometimes refused to pay the tribute, relying upon the difficulty of access to their country ; but there hath alwayes been a way found to enter and to reduce them. The same merchants agree also, that among the other mountains, that are more distant and depend no more from Kachemire, there are likewise found very pleasant countrys, peopled with very handsome whites, but such as almost never come out from their homes ; of which some have no Kings, nor, as far as could be perceived, any religion ; only that some of them do eat no fish, counting them unclean.

I shall add here, what I was lately told by a good ancient man, that had married a wife of the ancient family of the Kings of Kachemire. He said that when Jehan-Guire made a strict inquiry after all those that were of that family, he was afraid to be taken, and thereupon fled with three servants cross these mountains, not knowing in a manner whither he went ; that thus wandring he came at last into a very fine small canton, where when it came to be known who he was, the inhabitants came to visit him and brought him presents, and that, to

make up their kindness, they brought to him in the evening one of the beautifullest of their young maidens, praying him that he would bed with her, because they desired very much to have issue of his blood : that passing from thence into another canton, not much distant from the former, the people likewise came to see him, and to present him ; but that the kindness of the evening was far different from the other, in that these inhabitants brought to him their own wives, arguing that those of the other canton were beasts, because that his blood would not remain in their house, since the maidens would carry the child with them into the house of him, to whom they should be married.

I may further add, that some years since, there being dissention risen between the family of the King of the little Tibet, which borders upon Kachemire, one of the pretenders, to the Crown did secretly call for the assistance of the Governour of Kachemire, who by order of Chah-Jehan gave him powerful succours, and put to death or flight all the other pretenders, and left this man in the possession of the country, on condition of an annual tribute to be paid in crystal, musk and wool. This pretty King could not forbear coming to see Aureng-Zebe, bringing with him a present of those things I just now named ; but he had so pitiful a train, that I should never have taken him for what he was. My *Navab* entertained him at dinner, that he might receive the better information concerning those mountains. I heard him say, that his country on the east side did confine with great Tibet ; that it was about 30 or 40 leagues broad ; that there

was indeed some little crystal, musk, and wool, but for the rest very poor ; that there were no gold mines as was said ; that in some places there was very good fruit, especially melons ; that they had very hard winters, and very troublesome, because of the deep snows ; and that the people, which formerly had been Heathen, was almost all become Mahumetan, as himself, namely, of that sect called *Chia*, which is that of all Pesia. Besides, that seventeen or eighteen years ago Chah-Jehan had attempted to make himself master of the kingdom of great Tibet, as formerly also had done the Kings of Kachemire ; that his army after sixteen days difficult march, always among mountains, did besiege a castle which they took ; that there remain'd no more for him to do, than to pass a river, which is famous and very rapid, and thereupon to march directly to the capital town, which he would have easily carried, the whole kingdom being in a panick terror ; but that the season being far spent, the Governour of Kachemire, who was the General of that army, did apprehend he should be surprized by the snow, and so returned, leaving in the castle a garrison, which, whether it was from fear of the enemy, or from want of sufficient provision, he could not say, soon abandon'd it, which broke the design the Governour had of returning thither the next spring.

Now that King of this great Tibet knows, that Aureng-Zebe is at Kachemire, and threatens him with war, he hath sent to him an Ambassador, with presents of the countrey, a chrystal, and those dear white cow-tails, by way of ornament fasten'd to the ears of the elephants, as also musk, and a stone of *Jachen* of

great price, because of an extraordinary bigness. This *Jachen* is a blewish stone with white veins so hard that it is wrought with nothing else but the powder of diamond, highly esteemed in the Court of the Mogol. They make cups of it and other vessels, of which I have some richly wrought with threads of gold, of very curious workmanship. The train of this Ambassador did consist of three or four cavaliers, and ten or twelve tall men, dry and lean, having three or four hairs in their beards like the Chinese, and plain red bonnets upon their heads like our seamen, the rest of their garments suitable. I think there were four or five of them with swords, but the rest marched behind the Ambassador without any rod or stick. He treated with Aureng-Zebe in his masters name, promising that he would suffer a Mosque to be built in the capital city, wherein prayers should be made after the Mahumetan way; that the money, henceforth to be coined, should on the one side have the impress of Aureng-Zebe, and that he would pay him a certain annual tribute. But 'tis believed, that as soon as this King shall know that Aureng-Zebe is gone from Kachemire, he will laugh at all this treaty, as he did formerly at that, which he had made with Chah-Jehan.

This Ambassador had in his suit a physician, which was said to be of the kingdom of Lassa, and of the tribe *Lamy* or *Lama*, which is that of the men of the Law in that country, as the Brahmans are in the Indies; with this difference, that the Brahmans have no *Caliph*, or High-Priest, but the Lamians have one that is not only acknowledged for such by the kingdom of Lassa, but also by all Tartary, and who is

honoured and revered like a divine person. This physician had a book of receipts, which he would never sell to me; the writing of it seem'd, at a distance, somewhat like ours. We made him begin to write the alphabet, but he wrote so slowly, and his writing was so bad in respect of that in his book that we soon judg'd, this must needs be a poor doctor. He was much wedded to the Metempsychosis or Transmigration of Souls, and was full of admirable stories of it; among the rest he related of his great *Lama*, that when he was old and ready to die, he assembled his council, and declared to them, that now he was passing into the body of a little child, lately born, that this child was bred up with great care, and when it was about six or seven years old, they brought to it store of household-stuff pel mel with his own, and that the child was able to distinguish those, that were or had been his from that of others: which was, said this doctor, an authentick proof of the transmigration. For my part, I thought

first he rallied, but I found at last, that he spoke very seriously. I was once to see him at the Ambassadors with a merchant of Kachemire, that knew the language of Tibet, and was an interpreter to me. I made as if I would buy some stuffs he had brought to sell, which were some kind of ratines of about a foot and an half broad; that it was really to learn something of that country, yet it was no great matter I obtain'd from him. He only told me in general, that all the kingdom of the great Tibet was, in comparison to his, a miserable country, full of snow for more than five months of the year; that his King

made often war with the Tartars ; but he could never distinguish to me, what kind of Tartars they were. At length, after I had made a good many questions to him, without receiving any satisfaction upon them, I saw I lost only my time with him.

But there is another thing, which is so certain, that no body here doubts of it, 'Tis not yet twenty years, that there went caravans every year from Kachemire, which crossed all those mountains of the great Tibet, entred into Tartary, and arrived in about three months at Cataja, notwithstanding the very ill ways, and the rapid torrents ; which latter are to be passed over cords stretched from one rock to another. These caravans brought back musk, China-wood, rubarb, and mamiron, which last is a small root exceeding good for ill eyes. Repassing over the great Tibet they also loaded themselves with merchandise of that country, *viz.* musk, crystal and Jachen, but especially with store of very fine wooll of two sorts, one of sheep, and the other called *Touz*, which is rather, as I have said, a kind of hair approaching to our castor, than a wooll. But since the attempt, which Chah-Jehan made on that side, the King of the great Tibet hath altogether shut up the way, and suffers not any one from Kachemire to enter into his countrey : and thence it is, that the caravans at present go from Patna upon the Ganges, not passing through his countrey at all, but leaving it on the left hand, and coming directly to the kingdom of Lassa.

Concerning this kingdom, here called Kacheguer, which doubtless is that which our maps call Kascar, I shall relate to you what I was able to learn of it from the merchants of the countrey it self, who,

knowing that Aureng-Zebe was to stay a while at Kachemire, were come thither with a good number of slaves, of both sexes, whom they had to sell. They say, that the kingdom of Kacheguer lyeth east of Kachemire, drawing a little northward; that the shortest way thither was to go directly to the great Tibet; but that passage being obstructed, they were forced to take their way through the little Tibet; that first they went to a small town, called Gourtche, the last town depending from Kachemire, and four days journey distant from the same; that from thence in eight days they come to Eskerdou, the capital city of the King of the little Tibet, and thence in two days more to a small town call'd Cheker, likewise belonging to the little Tibet, and situate upon a river very famous for being medicinal; that in fifteen days they came to a great forest upon the confines of the little Tibet, and in fifteen days more to Kacheguer a small town, once the seat of the King of Kacheguer, which is now at Jourkend, lying somewhat more to the north, and ten days journey distant from Kacheguer. They added, that from the town of Kacheguer to Katay 'tis no more but two months voyage; that every year there go caravans, bringing back of all those commodities I have named, and passing into Persia through Usbeck, as there are others that do pass to Patna in Indostan. They had moreover, that to go from Kacheguer to Katay, travellers must go to a town that is eight days journey from Coten, the last town of the kingdom of Kacheguer; that the ways from Kachemire to Kacheguer are very difficult; that among others there is a place, where, in what season soever it be,

you must march about a quarter of a league upon ice. This is all, I could learn of those parts, which though indeed it be very much confused and very little, yet will it be found much, considering I had to do both with people so ignorant, that they almost knew not to give a reason of any thing, and with interpreters, who, for the most part, know not how to make the questions to be understood, nor intelligibly to deliver the answers made thereto.

I thought once, I would have here concluded this letter, or rather this book, and taken my leave of you untill I came to Dehli, whither we are now returning: but since I am in the vein of writing, and at some leisure, I shall endeavour to give you some satisfaction to those five particulars, you demanded of me in your last letter in the name of Monsieur Thevenot, that illustrious person, who daily giveth us more discoveries without going out of his study, than we have learned of those that have gone round the world.

The *first* of his demands is, "Whether it be true, that in the kingdom of Kachemire there are Jews settled there from immemorial times; and if so, whether they have the Holy Scripture, and if their Old Testament be altogether conform to ours?"

The *second* is, "That I would give you an account of what I have observed touching the mounsons, or the season of the ordinary rains in the Indies."

The *third* is, "That I would give you my observations, and declare to you my thoughts concerning the wonderful regularity of the current of the sea, and the winds in the Indies."

The *fourth* is, "Whether the kingdom of Bengale is so fertile, so rich, and so beautiful, as 'tis said to be?"

The *fifth* is, "That I would at length decide unto you the old controversie touching the causes of the increase of the Nile."

ANSWER TO THE FIRST DEMAND,
CONCERNING THE JEWS.

I SHOULD indeed be very glad, as well as Monsieur Thevenote, that there were Jews to be found in the valley of those mountains, who might be such, as I believe he would have them; I mean, of those ten tribes transported by Salmanasser. But you may assure him; that if anciently there have been of them in this place (as there is some reason to believe there were,) there are none of them at present, and all the inhabitants of it are now either Gentiles or Mahumetans; and that perhaps 'tis China, where they may be found. For I have lately seen, in the hands of our Reverend Father, the Jesuite of Dehli, some letters of a German Jesuite written from Pekin, taking notice that he had there seen some of them, that had preserved the Jewish religion and the Old Testament, that knew nothing of the death of Jesus Christ, and that they would even have made this Jesuite their *Kaam*, if he would have forborn to eat swines flesh.

Meantime here also are not wanting several marks of Judaism. The first is, that at the entring into this kingdom, after having passed the mountains of Pire-penjale, all the inhabitants I saw in the first villages seemed to me to be Jews, in their garbe and

meen, and in something peculiar, which maketh us often discern nations from one another.* I am not the only person, that hath had this thought; our Father, the Jesuite, and many of our Europeans had the same before me. The second is, that I have observ'd, that among the meaner sort of the people of this town, though they be Mahumetans, yet the name of Mousa, that is Moses, is much used. The third that commonly they say, that Salomon came into their country, and that it was he that cut the mountain of Baramoule to give an outlet to the waters. The fourth, that they say, Moses died at Kachemire, and that his tomb is one league distant from this town. The fifth, that they pretend, that that little and very ancient edifice, which appears from hence upon an high mountain, was built by Salomon, and that thence they call it to this very day the Throne of Salomon. So that I would not deny, but that some Jews may have penetrated hither; and that in length of time they may have lost the purity of their Law, turned Idolaters, at last Mahumetans. In short, we see store of the Jewish nation that have passed into Persia to Lar, Ispahan, and also into Indostan on the side of Goa and Cochin: I have been informed, that there were of them in Æthiopia, even gallant and military men, and some of them so considerable and potent, that there was one of them, fifteen or sixteen year agoe, that had attempted to make himself King of a little country of the mountains of a very hard access; if it be true, what two Ambassadors of the King of Æthiopia, that were lately in this court, related to me.

ANSWER TO THE SECOND DEMAND, ABOUT-THE STATED
RAINS IN THE INDIES

THE sun is so strong and violent in the Indies all the year long, and principally for the space of eight months, that he would burn all, and render the country barren and inhabitable, if Providence had not particularly provided and disposed things in so admirable a way, as that in the month of July, when the heats are most violent, rains begin regularly to fall, which continuing for three months together, do temper the earth, and render it very fruitful, and so qualify the air that it may be endured. Yet are not these rains so regular, that they fall always just at the same time ; of which I have made many observations in different places, and principally at Dehli, where I lived a long while. The like is found in other countries ; and there is always some difference in the time from year to year : for sometimes they begin or end a fortnight or three weeks sooner, sometimes later ; and there are also some years, in which they are not so plentiful as in others ; insomuch that two years, together it did almost not rain at all ; which caused much sickness, and great famine. Besides, there is also this difference in respect of countries different and remote from one another, that these rains ordinarily begin sooner, or are more plentiful in one than in the other. For example, in Bengale and along the coast of Coromandel, as far as to the isle of Ceilan, they begin and end a month sooner than towards the coast of Malabar : and in Bengale these rains are pouring down for four

months, and sometimes continue for eight days and nights together without intermission ; whereas at Dehli and Agra they are never so strong, nor so durable, there passing sometimes two or three whole days without any rain ; and ordinarily the whole morning from break of day until about nine or ten a clock it rains but very little or nothing. But the most considerable difference I have observ'd, is, that the rains in divers places come from different quarters of the world, as about Dehli they come from the east, where lies Bengale ; whereas, on the contrary, in the parts of Bengale and upon the coast of Coromandel they come from the south ; and upon the coast of Malabar they proceed almost always from the west.

I have also observed another particular about which they all agree in those parts, *viz.* that according as the heat of the summer comes sooner or later, is more or less violent, and lasts longer or a shorter time ; the rains also come sooner or later, are more or less plentiful, last longer or a shorter time.

These observations have given me ground to believe, that the heat of the earth and the rarefaction of the air must be the principal causes of these rains, and draw them ; forasmuch as the air of the seas, which lie near round about the lands, being colder, more condensed, and more grosse, filled with clouds which the great heats of the summer raise from the waters and which the winds drive and agitate, dischargeth it self easily upon the land, where the air is hotter, more rarified, in more motion and less resisting than upon the seas, so as that this discharge is more or less tardy

and abundant, according as the heat comes sooner and is more violent.

Sutable to the same observations I was perswaded that if the rains begin sooner upon the coast of Coromandel than upon that of Malabar, 'tis by reason that the summer begins there sooner, it being possible that there it may do so for some particular reasons, which perhaps would not be hard to find, if the country were well examin'd : for we know, that according to the different situation of a land in respect of seas or mountains, and according as 'tis more sandy, or hilly, or woody, the summer comes there either sooner or later, and with more or less violence.

I am further perswaded, that it is no wonder, that the rains come from different quarters ; that upon the coast of Coromandel, for example, they come from the south, and upon that of Malabar from the west ; because that in all appearance it must be the nearest seas that send them, and the coast of Coromandel is nearer to the sea, which lyeth southerly in respect of it, and is more exposed to it, as the coast of Malabar is to the west of it, lying toward Babel-mandel, Arabia, and the Gulf of Persia.

Lastly, I have imagined, that if at Dehli, for example, the rains come from the east, it may yet be that the seas which are southerly to it, are the origin of them ; but that they are forced by reason of some mountains, or some other lands where the air is colder, more condensed and more resisting, to turn aside and discharge themselves another way, where the air is more rarified, and where consequently they find less resistance.

I forgot to tell you, that I also observed at Dehli, that there it never rains to purpose, till for many days there have passed store of clouds westward, as if it were necessary that those spaces of air, which are beyond Dehli westward, should be first filled with clouds, and that these clouds finding there some obstacle, as it may be some air less hot and less rarified, and consequently more condensed and more able to resist, or some other contrary clouds and winds repelling them, should become so thick, so burthensom and so heavy, that they must fall down in rain, after the same manner as it often enough falls out, when the wind driveth the clouds against some high mountain.

ANSWER TO THE THIRD DEMAND, WHICH IS
CONCERNING THE REGULARITY OF THE CURRENT OF
THE SEA, AND OF THE WINDS IN THE INDIES.

AS soon as the rains do cease (which ordinarily comes to pass towards the month of October,) it is observed, that the sea taketh its course southward, and that the cold northern winds ariseth. This wind blows for four or five months without intermission and without storms, always keeping the same equality as to its strength and quarter, unless it change or cease a day or so by accident, but then it returns again unto its former place and temper. After that time; for two months or there about the other winds do reign without any rule. These two months being past, which is called the intermediate season, or, according to the Hollanders, the wavering or changing season,

the sea returns back from south to north, and the south wind riseth to reign also in his turn for four or five months, as the current of the sea doth: so that there pass 'two months of intermediate season; during which, navigation is very difficult and dangerous, whereas during the two seasons it is very easie, pleasant and without peril, except it be about the end of the season of the south-wind. Hence you may find cause not to wonder, if you hear that the Indians, though else very timorous and inexpert in the art of navigation, do notwithstanding make pretty long and considerable voyages; as when they sail from Bengale to Tanassary, Achem, Malaque, Sian and Makassar; or to Maslipatan, Ceilan, the Maldives, Moka, and Bender-Abassy; because they take their time to go with one good season, and to return with the other. 'Tis true, that oft enough they are surprized and cast away; but that is, when they cannot dispatch their affairs in good time, or fail of taking their measures. Our Europeans also do sometimes lose themselves, though they be far better sea-men, bolder and more understanding, and their ships better condition'd and equipped.

Of these two intermediate seasons, that which maketh the south-wind is in comparably more dangerous than the other, and more subject to tempests and storms; and even in the season it self this wind is ordinarily much more impetuous and unequal than that of the north. And here I must not omit to give you a remark, which is, that about the end of the season of the south-wind, during the time of the rain, although there be a great calm out at sea, yet

'tis very tempestuous near the coasts ; to the distance of fifteen or twenty leagues ; whence the ships of Europe or others, when they will approach the Indian coasts, for example, of Suratte, or Maslipatan, must be very careful of taking their time to arrive just after the rains ; or else they run great hazard of being split and lost upon the coast.

This is very near what I could observe of the season in these parts ; of which I much wish I could give you a good reason. I shall venture to tell you that it came into my thoughts, first, that the air, which environs the globe of the earth, ought to be esteemed to have a share in it, as also the water of the sea and rivers, forasmuch as both the one and the other gravitate upon this globe, tend to the same center of it, and so are in some manner united and fasten'd to it ; so that from these three bodies, the air, the water and the earth, there results as 'twere one great globe. Next, that globe of the earth being suspended and balanced, as it is, in its place, in that free and unresisted space, where the Creator thought good to place it, would be capable to be easily mov'd, if some adventitious body should come against it and hit it. Thirdly, that the sun having past the line to move towards one of the poles, for example, the arctique, coming to cast its rays that way, maketh there impression enough to depress a little the arctique pole, and to do that more and more according as it advanceth towards the tropique ; letting it rise again by little and little, according as he returns towards the line, untill by the force of his rayes he do the like on the side of the antartique pole.

If these suppositions, joyn'd to that of the diurnal motion of the earth, were true, it were not me-thinks, without reason what is commonly affirm'd in the Indies, *viz.* that the sun conducts and carries with him the sea and wind. For if it be true, that having pass'd the line to go towards one of the poles, he causeth a change in the direction of the axis of the earth, and a depression in the pole on that side, the other pole must needs be raised, and that consequently the sea and the air, being two fluid and heavy bodies, run-down in this inclination: so that it would be true to say, that and sun advancing towards one pole, causeth on that side two great regular currents, *viz.* that of the sea, and that of the air which maketh the mounson-wind, as he causeth two opposite ones, when he returns towards the other pole.

Upon this ground, methinks, it might be said, that there are no other but two main opposite fluxes of the sea, one from the side of the pole arctique, the other from that of the antartique: that if there were a sea from one pole to the other, that passed through our Europe, we should see, that these two currents would there be regular every where, as they are in the Indies, and that that which hinders this regularity of flux from general, is that the seas are intercepted by lands, which impede, break, and vary their course; in like manner as some say, that the ordinary flux and reflux of the sea is hinder'd in those seas that lye in length, as the Mediterranean doth from east to west. And so likewise might it be said upon the same foundation, that there are but two principal opposite winds or fluxes of the air, and that they

would be universally regular, if the earth were perfectly smooth and equal, and one part like another every where.

AN ANSWER TO THE FOURTH QUESTION, CONCERNING THE FERTILITY, RICHES AND BEAUTY OF THE KINGDOM OF BENGAL.

ALL ages have spoken of Egypt as of the best fruitfullest part of the world; and writers will not grant, there is any country comparable to it: but as far as I can see by the two voyages I have made in the kingdom of Bengale, I am of opinion, that that advantage belongs rather to it, than to Egypt. It bears rice in that abundance, that it not only furnishes its neighbours, but many very remote parts. 'Tis carried up the river Ganges to Patna; and 'tis transported by sea to Maslipatan, and to many others ports of the coast of Coromandel. Besides, 'tis sent away into forrain kingdoms, and principally into Ceilan and the Maldives. Further, it also abounds in sugar, so that it furnishes with it the kingdoms of Golkonda and Karnates, where there grows but very little. Arabia also and Mesopotamia are thence provided with it, by the way of Moka and Bassora; and Persia it self, by Bander-Abassay. Moreover, Bengale is also the country of good confits, especially in those places where the Portugueses are, who are dextrous in making them, and drive a great trade with them. They ordinarily make store of those big pome-citrons, as we have in Europe; and a certain root, which is longish like sarsaperilla, and very delicate; and of

that common fruit of the Indies call'd *amba*, and of *ananas*, and the same *microbolans*, which are excellent; as also of limons and ginger.

'Tis true, that the country of Bengale yields not so much corn as Egypt; but if that be a defect, it is to be imputed to its inhabitants that eat very little bread, and much more rice than the Egyptians: yet it always bears what is sufficient for the country, and to afford excellent biscuits, very cheap, for the provision of our European ships, English, Dutch, and Portuguese. You may there have almost for nothing those three or four kinds of legumes, which together with rice and butter are the most usual food of the meaner people: and for a Roupie, which is about half a crown, you may have twenty good pullets and more; geese and ducks, in proportion. There are also kids and sheep in abundance, and such store of pork, that the Portuguese, settled there and accustomed to the country, live almost on nothing else but that; and the English and Dutch victual their ships with it. There is also plenty of many sorts of fish, both fresh and salt: and, in a word, Bengale is a country abounding in all things; and 'tis for this very reason, that so many Portuguese, Mesticks, and other Christians are fled thither from those quarters, which the Dutch have taken from them. For, the Jesuits and Augustinians, that have great Churches there, wherein they exercise their religion with all freedom, did assure me, that in Ogoouli alone there were no less than eight or nine thousand souls of Christians; and (which I will easily believe) that in the rest of that kingdom there were above twenty five thousands. And 'tis this affluence of all those

things necessary for life, joyned to the beauty and good humour of the ~~woman~~-natives, that hath occasioned this proverb amongst the Portugueses, English, and Holanders, *viz.* "That there are an hundred open gates to enter into the kingdom of Bengale, and not one to come away again."

As to the commodities of great value, and which draw the commerce of strangers thither, I know not, whether there be a country in the world, that affords more and greater variety : for besides the sugar I have spoken of, which may be numbered amongst the commodities of value, there is such store of cottons and silks, that it may be said, that Bengale is as 'twere the general magazine thereof, not only for Indostan or the empire of the Great Mogol, but also for all the circumjacent kingdoms, and for Europe it self. I have sometimes stood amazed at the vast quantity of cotton-cloth of all sorts, fine and others, tinged and white, which the Hollanders alone drawn from thence and transport into many places, especially into Japan and Europe ; not to mention what the English, Portingal and Indian merchants carry away from those parts. The like may be said of the silks and silk-stuffs of all sorts : one would not imagine the quantity, that is hence transported every year ; for, this country furnishes generally all this great empire of Mogol as far as Lahor and Caboul, and most of the other forrain parts, whither cotton-cloth is carried. 'Tis true, that these silks are not so fine as those, of Persia, Syria, Sayd, and Barnt : but then there is also a great difference in the price ; and I know from good hands, that whosoever shall taken care of choosing them well, and

of getting them well wrought, may have very good stuffs made of them. The Hollanders alone have sometimes seven hundred or eight hundred men of the natives at work in their Factory of Kassem-Bazar; as the English and other merchants have theirs in proportion.

It is also in Bengale, where that prodigious quantity of salt-peter is found; which is so conveniently carried down the river Ganges from Patna, and where the English and Dutch load whole ships full for many places of the Indies and for Europe.

Lastly, 'tis Bengale, whence the good lacca, opium, wax, civet, long pepper do come; and even butter is to be had there in so great plenty, that though it be a gross commodity, yet notwithstanding 'tis thence transported into divers places.

It cannot be denied that the air, in regard of strangers, is not so healthy there, especially near the sea: and when the English and Hollanders first came to settle there many of them dyed; and I have seen in Balasor two very fine English ships, which having been obliged, by reason of the war of the Hollanders, to stay there above a year, were not able to go to sea, because most of their men were lost. Yet since the time that they have taken care and made orders, as well as the Hollanders, that their people shall not drink so much *Bouleponges*, nor go so often a shore to visit the seller of *arac* and tobacco, and the Indian women; and since they have found, that a little wine of Bourdeaux, Canary or Chiras is a marvellous antidote against the ill air; there is not so much sickness amongst them, nor do they now lose so many men.

Bouleponge is a certain beverage made of *arac*, that is of strong water, black sugar, with the juice of limon water, and a little muscadine upon it ; which is pleasant enough to the taste, but a plague to the body and to health.

As to the beauty of the country, you are to know, that all Bengale, taking it near an hundred leagues in length on both sides of Ganges, from Raje-mehale unto the sea, is full of great channels, formerly cut out of the river Ganges with vast labour, reaching far into the country for the conveniency of transporting commodities, and the water it self, which by the Indians is counted the best in the world. These channels are on both sides lined with well-peopled villages and burroughs of Gentiles, and the large fields, lying near them, bear abundance of rice, sugar, corn, legumes, mustard, sezamum for oil, small mulberries of two or three foot high, to feed silk-worms. But then the vast number of great and small isles, that are in the midst of Ganges, and fill all that great space of six or seven days journey, (as there is in some places of this river from one side to the other ;) this giveth an incomparable beauty to the country : for, they are very fertile, filled with fruit-bearing trees, *ananas's*, and all sorts of verdure, and interlaced with a thousand little channels, which you cannot see the end of, as if they were so many water-mails all covered with trees. The worst of it is, that many of these isles that are next the sea, are now abandoned by reason of those corsaires, the *Franguys* of Rakan, elsewhere spoken of ; and that they have at present no other inhabitants but tigers (which sometimes swim over from one isle to the other)

and gazelles, and hoggs, and poultry grown wild. And 'tis upon the account of these tigers, that for people travelling between these little isles in small boats, as usually they do, 'tis dangerous in many places to land ; besides, great care is to be had, that the boat, which in the night is fastened to trees, be not too near the bank ; for there are now and then some men surprised ; and I have heard it said, that tigers have been so bold as to come into the boats, and to carry away men that were asleep, chusing the biggest and fattest of them, if one may believe the water-men of the country.

I remember, I made once a voyage of ten days, from Pipli to Ogouli, between those isles and channels ; which I cannot forbear to relate to you, because there passed not a day without some extraordinary accident. My Chaloupe of seven Oars was no sooner got out of the river Pipli, and advanced 3 or 4 leagues into the sea along the coast, to gain the isles and the channels, but we saw the sea covered with fishes like huge carps pursued by a shole of Dolphins. I made my men row that way, and saw that most of those fishes lay along the coast as if they were dead ; that some advanced a little, others played and tumbled as if they were drunk. We all laboured a little to take some of them, and we caught 24 with our hands without any difficulty. Viewing them I observed, that out of all their mouths there came out a bladder (like those that are in carps,) which was full of air, and reddish at the end. I imagined easily, that this must be the bladder which kept them from sinking ; but I could not conceive, why it should thus come out of

their mouth, unless it were that they had been long and closely pursued by those Dolphins, and had made so great an effort to fly away as to make this bladder thus swell, and colour, and to hang out of their-mouth. I afterwards told this thing to an hundred sea-mer, but they could not beleive it, and I never found but one Dutch Pilot, who told me, that failing once upon the coast of China, he had met with the like, and that presently they put out their boat to sea, and took, as I did, with their hands abundance of fishes.

The day after, about even, we came among those isles, and after we had look'd for a place, where 'twas likely no tigers would come, we landed, made fire, dressed a couple of pullets, and our fish, which was excellent. Presently after supper I made my men row until night, and for fear of losing our way between those channels in the dark, we retired out of the great channel, and found a good shelter in some small creek, where we fasten'd our boat to a thick branch of a tree, far enough from the land, for fear of tigers. In the night, when I was watching, there fell out a philosophical accident, of which kind two had happen'd to me afore in Dehli. I saw a rainbow of the moon, which I shew'd to all my company, and which very much surprised two Portuguese Pilots I had taken into my boat at the desire of a friend, who had never seen nor heard of such a thing.

The third day we went astray between these channels, and if we had not met with some Portugueses making salt in one of the isles, that directed us in our way, I know not what would have become of us. But behold another philosophical accident. In the night,

being got again under shelter in a little channel, my Portugueses that still were concerned about the rainbow of the last night, and whom that observation had made more curious to behold the heavens, awaken'd me, and shew'd me, another, as fair and as well form'd as that was, which I had shewed them. Mean time I would not have you think, that I mistook an iris or rainbow for a *Corona*, or Crown. There is no month almost but at Dehli these lunar rainbows are seen in the season of the rains, when the moon is high above the horizon : and I found that it must be so ; having seen of them three or four nights one after another, and sometimes double ones. They were not circles about the moon, but opposite to her, and in the like position with solar rainbows : and as often as I have seen them, the moon was westward, and the rainbow eastward. The moon was also near full ; which in my opinion, is necessary ; because at other time she would not have light enough to form any. Lastly, these rainbows were not so white as the crowns use to be, but much more coloured, insomuch that there might be discerned in them some distinction of colours. And thus you see, how I have been more happy than the ancients, who, according to Aristotle, had observed none such before him.

The fourth day about evening we retired out of the great channel, as we used to do, into a very fair place of safety ; but had one of the most extraordinary nights that ever I knew. There was not a breath of wind, and the air is so hot and stuffy that we could scarce breathe. The bushes round us were so full of those little shining worms, that they

seem'd to be on fire ; and there arose fires here and there, which were like flames, and frighten'd my sea men, who said, they were devils. Among the rest there arose two, that were very extraordinary ; one was a great globe of fire, which in falling and spinning, lasted above the time of saying a *Pater noster* ; and the other, which lasted about a quarter of an hour, was like a little tree all in a flame.

The night of the fifth day was terrible and dangerous. There arose so great a storm, that though we were under the shelter of trees, and that our small boat was well fasten'd, yet notwithstanding all that, the wind broke our cable, and was casting us into the great channel, where we had infallibly perish'd, if I had not, together with my two Portugueses, presently laid hold on the branches of some trees, where we held fast for above two hours, whilst the storme lasted : for there was no assistance to be expected from my Indian oar-men, whom fright had made incapable to help us in this occasion. But, what was most troublesome and amazing, there fell a rain as if it had been pour'd down with buckets, which filled our boat, and was accompanied with such lightning and thunder-claps very near our head, that every moment we thought we should sink

The remainder of our voyage unto the ninth day, when I arriv'd at Ogouli, we passed very well and with pleasure ; for I could not be satisfi'd with beholding such beautiful countries. Mean time my trunk and all my baggage was wet, my pullets dead, my fish spoiled, and all my biscuit drunk with water.

ANSWER TO THE FIFTH QUESTION, ABOUT THE
INCREASE OF THE NILE.

I DO not know, whether I shall acquit my self in respect of this fifth question, as it were to be wish'd: but I shall faithfully impart to you what I have set down of it, after I had twice observed the Nile's increase, and carefully examined the same, and taken notice withal some things in the Indies, which have afforded me greater aids for it, than that learned man could have, that hath so ingeniously written of it, though he never saw Egypt but in his study.

I have already said in another place, that at the time when the two ambassadours of Æthiopia were at Dehli, my *Agah* Danéchmend-kan, who is extraordinarily curious, sent often for them, to inform himself in my presence, of the condition and government of their country; and one day, amongst other things, we occasion'd them to, discourse of the source of the Nile, which they call *Abbabile*; whereof they spake to us as a thing so known that no body doubted of it, and where one of these Ambassadours, and a Mogolian, that was return'd with him out of Æthiopia, had been in person. They told us, that it taketh its origin in the country of the Agaus, and issueth out of the earth at two big bubbling springs, near one another, which from a small lake of about thirty or forty paces long; that at the coming out of this lake it is then already a pretty river, and that from place to place it receiveth other rivers which enlarge it. They added, that it runs bending, and forming

a great pen-insule, and that after several cascata's from steep rocks, it falls into a great lake, which is not above four or five days journey from its source, in the country of Dumbia or Dumba, three little days journey from Gonder, the metropolis of Æthiopia; that having traversed that lake, it issueth thence swell'd with all the waters that falls there, passeth through Sonnar, the principal city of the King of Funges or Barbaris, tributary to the King of Æthiopia, running on and making the cataracts, and so entring into the plains of Messer, which is, Egypt.

After we had learned these particularities of the source and course of the Nile, I asked him, (to judge whereabout the source of the Nile might be) towards which part of the world they believed the country of Dumbia, wherein is Gonder, to be, in respect of Babel-mandel? But they knew not what to answer to this, but only, that they went alwayes westward, and especially the Mahumetan Ambassadour, (who was obliged to know better and to take more notice of the position of the world, than the Christian, because the Turks are obliged in saying their prayers to turn themselves towards Mecca) did assure me, that I was not at all to doubt thereof: which did astonish me very much, because, according to their description, the source of the Nile, should be much on this side of the æquinoctial, whereas all our maps with Ptolomie place it a good way beyond it.

We also asked them, at what time it did use to rain in Æthiopia, and whether there were regular

seasons of rain as in the Indies? To which they answer'd, that it rain'd almost never upon that coast of the Red-Sea, from Suaken-Arkiko, and the isle of Masouva to Babel-mandel, no more than it doth at Moka, which is on the other side, in the Happy Arabia; but that in the heart of the country, in the province of Agaus, and in that of Dumbia and the circumjacent places it rained much for two of the hottest months of the summer, and at the same time when it rain'd in the Indies; which was also, according to my computation, the very time of the increase of the Nile in Egypt. They said further, that they knew very well, it was the rain of Æthiopia which swelled the Nile, overflowed Egypt, and fertilized the ground of it by the slime it carried upon it; and that it was even therefore, that the Kings of Æthiopia pretended a tribute to be due them out of Egypt, and that, when the Mahumetans made themselves masters of it, ill treating the Christians of the country, they had a mind to turn the course of the Nile another way, *viz.* into the Red-Sea thereby to ruin Egypt and to render it infertile but that this design miscarried by reason of the great difficulties in effecting the thing.

All these particulars, which I had already learned, when I passed over to Moka, from a dozen merchants, that come there in the name of the King of Æthiopia to attend the Indian trading vessels, are considerable to make us judge, that the Nile increaseth not but by the rains which fall without Egypt towards the source of that river: but the particular observations I have made upon two increases of this river, make

them yet more so ; for, in reference to all those stories, that are made of it, as, that 'tis on a determin'd day it begins to increase ; that on the first day of its increase there falls a certain dew, which maketh the plague cease, so that no body dieth any more of it after that hath once fallen ; and that there are peculiar and hidden causes of the overflowing of the Nile : in reference, I say, to these stories, I have found during the said two inundations, and amazed to see a river swell in summer in a country where it rains not : and I have found, that 'tis no otherwise with the Nile than 'tis with other rivers, that swell and overflow by plentiful rains, without any such fermentations of the nitrous soyl of Egypt, which some have suggested as the cause thereof.

I have seen it swelled above a foot, and very turbid, near a whole month before that pretended determined day of its increase. I have observed during its increase, and before the channels were open'd, that when it had grown for some days a foot or two, it afterwards decreased little by little, and then began to increase a new, and so went on to increase and decrease without any other measure but that of the rains that fall nigh the source, and, as is often seen in our river Loire, according to the fall of more or less rain in the mountains whence it flows, and the days or half days of fair weather there.

In my return from Jerusalem, going up from Damietta to Cairo, I chanced to be upon the Nile about a month before the pretended day of the dew-fall, and in the morning we were all wet of the dew fallen in the night.

I have been in Rosette at supper with Monsieur de Bermen, Vice-Consul of our nation, eight or ten days after this day of the dew-fall, when three persons were struck with the plague, of whom there died two within eight days, and the third, which was M. de Bermon himself, had perhaps not escaped, if I had not pierc'd his plague-sore; which presently infected my self like others; so that, if I had not forthwith taken some butter of antimony, I might have been as well as they, an example of the little certainty there is in the plague after the dew; but this emetic medicine in the beginning of the evil did wonders, and I kept three or four days within doors; during which, I remember, my Bedouin that serv'd me made no scruples to drink, in my presence, the remainder of my broth, to encourage me, and from his principle of Predestination, to laugh at the fear we have of the plague. Yet experience shews, that after the day of the dew the plague is commonly not so dangerous as before, but the dew contributes nothing to that; 'tis only in my opinion, that then there is a greater opening of the pores, which gives a vent to the malign and pestiferous spirits, that were shut up in the body.

Moreover, I have carefully enquired of some masters of boats, that had gone up as far as the end of the plains of Egypt, that is, to the very rocks and cataracts; who assured me, that when the Nile did overflow in the plains of Egypt, where that pretended fermenting nitrous earth is, 'tis at the same time much swelled between those mountains of the cataracts, where, in all appearance here is no such nitrous earth.

Besides, I have made diligent enquiry of those Negro's of Sonnars, that come to serve at Cairo, and whose country, being tributary to the King of Æthiopia, as I have said, lyes upon the Nile between the mountains above Egypt; and they have assured me, that at the same time when the Nile is high and overflowing in Egypt, 'tis so also with them by reason of the rains then falling in their mountains, and higher up in the country of Habeche or Æthiopia.

The observations I have made in the Indies, concerning the regular rains that fell at the same time when the Nile swells in Egypt, are also very considerable in this matter, and may make you imagine, that the Indus, Ganges, and all the other rivers of those parts are so many Niles, and the land, that is near their fall into the sea, so many Egypts. This was my thought of it in Bengale, and what follows are the very words I set down about it.

That great number of isles which are found in the Gulf of Bengala at the mouth of the river Ganges, and which by lapse of time are join'd to one another, and at length with the continent, put me in mind of the mouth of the Nile, where I have observed almost the same thing; so that as 'tis said, after Aristotle, that Egypt is the workmanship of the Nile, so it may be said, that Bengale is the work of Ganges, only with this difference, that as the Ganges is incomparably bigger then the Nile, so he carrieth with him towards the sea a far greater quantity of earth; and so forms greater and more islands than the Nile and that the islands of the Nile are destitute of trees, whereas

those of Ganges are all covered with them, because of four months of constant and plentiful rains that fall in the heart of the summer, and render it needless to cut channels in Bengale, to water and enrich the earth, as they do in Egypt. It is just so with Ganges and the other rivers of Indostan, as with the Nile ; this and those increase in summer by the means of rain, which ordinarily fall at that time ; except that then, and almost never, there are no rains in Egypt, but a little toward the sea, and that in rains not about the source of Nile ; whereas in the Indies it rains in all the countries, through which any rivers pass ; except the kingdom of Scymid towards the Persian Gulf, where is the mouth of the river Indus ; it happening that in some years it doth not rain there at all, though for all that the Indus swells there, and the fields are water'd by the means of cut channels, just as in Egypt.

For the rest, concerning the desire of M. Thevent, to impart to you my adventures of the Red-Sea, of Suez, of Tor, of mount Sinai, of Gidda (that pretend-

Holy Land of Mahomet, half a days journey distant from Mecca ;) as also of the isle of Camarane and Louhaya, and whatever I could learn at Moka of the kingdom of Æthiopia, and of the most commodious way to enter into it ; these particulars, I say, I shall in time draw fair out of my manuscripts, if God permit.

SOME PARTICULARS FORGOTTEN TO BE INSERTED IN MY FIRST BOOK, TO PERFECT THE MAP OF INDOSTAN, AND TO KNOW THE REVENUE OF THE GREAT MOGOL.

TO understand the better what follows, 'tis requisite to know the signification of these terms, *viz.*

1. *Soubah*, that is, Government and Province.

2. *Pragna*, that is, the principal town, burrough or village that hath many others depending from it, where rents are paid to the King, who is absolute Lord of all the land of his Empire.

3. *Serkar*, that is, the Exchequer of the Kings Treasure.

4. *Kasinc*, that is, Treasure.

5. *Roupie*, the mony of the country, equivalent to 29 or 30 pence.

6. *Lecque*, that is, an hundred thousand Roupies.

7. *Courour*, that is, an hundred Lecques.

1. Jehan-Abad, or Dehli, is the first Soubah; it hath sixteen serkars in its dependance, and 230 pragna's: it yields to the King nineteen millions and five hundred and twenty five thousand Roupies.

2. Agra, otherwise called Akber-abad, is the second. It hath 14 serkars, and 260 pragna's yielding to the King twenty five millions two hundred and twenty five thousand Roupies.

3. Lahor hath 14 serkars, and 314 pragna's, bringing in to the King rent of twenty four millions six hundred ninety five thousand Roupies.

4. Hasmer, which belongs to a Raja, yields to the King a tribute of twenty one millions nine hundred and seventy thousand Roupies.

5. Gusarate, the capital whereof is Amadavad, hath 9 serkars, and 190 pragnas; yielding to the King thirteen millions three hundred and ninety five thousand Roupies.

6. The kingdom of Candahar belongs to the King of Persia; but the the pragna's that remain unit'd to the Crown of the Great Mogol, are 15 and yield in rent 1,992,500 Roupies.

7. Malona hath 9 serkars; and 190 pragna's; bringing in 9,162,500 Roupies

8. Patna, or Beara, hath 8 serkars, and payeth the rent of 9,580,000 Roupies.

9. Elabas hath seventeen serkars, and 260 pragna's; rendring 9,470,000 Roupies.

10. Haoud hath 5 serkars, and 149 pragna's: it yields 6,430,000 Roupies.

11. Moultan hath 4 serkars, and 96 pragna's: brings in 11,840,500 Roupies.

12. Jagannat, in which is comprehended Bengale, hath 11 serkars, end 12 pragna's: it yields 7,270,000 Roupies.

13. Kachemire hath 5 serkars, and 45 pragna's: yields 350,000 Roupies.

14. Caboul hath 35 pragna's and brings in 3,272,500 Roupies.

15. Tata hath 4 serkars and 54 pragna's and giveth 2,320,000 Roupies.

16. Aureng-abad, formerly Daulet-abad hath 8 serkars, and 79 pragna's: yields 17,227,500 Roupies.

17. Varada hath 20 serkars and 191 pragna's; yielding 15,875,000 Roupies.

18. Candays, whose principal town is Brampour, hath 3 serkars, and 103 pragna's: it brings in 18,550,000 Roupies.

19. Talengand, which borders upon the kingdom of Golkonda on the side of Maslipatan, hath 43 pragna's, and payeth in rent 6,885,000 Roupies.

20. Baganala, on the confines of the lands of the Portugueses, and the mountains of Seva-gi (that Raja which plundered Suratte,) hath 2 serkars, and 8 pragna's; paying the rent of 500,000 Roupies.

According to these particulars, which I take not to be the most exact or the most true, the Great Mogol's yearly revenue of his lands alone would amount to above two *houvouts* of Roupies.

A LETTER SENT FROM CHIRASIN PERSIA, JUNE 10th 1668. TO MONSIEUR CHAPELLE,

CONCERNING HIS DESIGN OF REPAIRING AGAIN TO HIS STUDIES, ABOUT SOME POINTS RELATING TO THE DOCTRINE OF ATOMS, AND TO THE NATURE OF THE MIND OF MAN.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I DID always believe what Monsieur Luillier, said, that it would only be a transport of youth, and that you would quit this kind of life, so much displeasing to your friends, and at length return to your studies

with more vigour than ever. • I have been informed from Indostan by the last letters of my friends, that you are now in good earnest, and are going to take a flight with Democritus and Epicurus, far beyond the flaming walls of the world, into their infinite spaces, to see and, victoriously to report unto us what may, and what may not be done

Et ultra processit longe flammantia, &c.

to take a review, and fall upon a serious meditation of the nature of those spaces, the general place of things ; upon those infinite generations and corruptions of their pretended worlds by their alledged fatal concourse of atoms ; upon Liberty, Fortune and Destiny ; upon the Existence, Unity and Providence of God ; upon the use of the parts of animals ; upon soul, and all the other sublime matters they have treated of.

For my part, I cannot condemn this design, the inclination we have to know, being natural, on the contrary I am bound to believe, that it belongs but to great souls to elevate themselves to such high enterprizes, in regard it is principally by this means, that a man can make appear what he is, and the advantage he hath above other animals. But as the highest undertakings are commonly also the most dangerous, this certainly is not without much danger. For though we seem to have a peculiar inclination and affection to truth ; yet it seems also, that we have another very strong one to Liberty and Independency, not to acknowledge a Master above us, and to say, to believe and to do all according to our phansie, without the fear of any, and without an obligation to render an account for any thing ; so that if we be not upon our guard,

this latter inclination will carry away the bell ; and if we stay upon the reasons that carry us to this liberty, and content our selves with slightly considering those that might take us off from it ; we shall soon find our selves engaged in a strange life, or at least be in suspence between both, and tossed up and down between a *'t may be that this is so*, and *'t may be that it is not so* ; lukewarm, or cold, slow, and indifferent to what concerns the End and Rule of our life.

Moreover methinks, that most philosophers suffer themselves easily to be carried away to this vanity of believing, that to entertain opinions beyond the vulgar, is the way of being reputed rare and excellent wits ; they taking pleasure even to vent such opinions as something mysterious, belonging to none but men of great knowledge, and grounded on deep and weighty reasons ; although they be not too much perswaded themselves of what they affirm. So that if such men do not take great care on that hand also, they shall not fail to be seized on by the aforementioned vanity ; and whilst they go about to perswade others of what they are not perswaded themselves, they shall insensibly fall into that very belief ; like a liar, who after having often related one and the same untruth, or at last believes it to be a truth ; or at least they shall in the end fall into those inquietnesses, may be's, and indifferencies, which I have mention'd instead of attaining that state of solid tranquility and sublime knowledge, which they promised, and wherewith they flatter'd themselves.

Lastly there is no doubt, that though we have this inclination to learn, yet we are withal very lazy ; we

desire indeed knowledge and truth, but we would have it very cheap, without much labour and watching, which are irksome things, and often disturbing our health, yet necessary evils if we will know thoroughly the least thing, and make ourselves capable to give a solid judgment thereof. And thence it comes, that if we be not constantly upon our guard, and contend not perpetually with our slothfulness, we shall soon come to flatter our selves with this belief; that to know things, there needs not so much painful study; and so not being to resolve upon an uncessant labour, we suffer ourselves to be easily surprized with that appearance of truth, which shineth forth in the reasons commonly produced by these gentlemen, called *les esprits sorts*; instead of seriously examining them, that so they may not be made to appear to us beyond what they contain of strength, nor the force of those that make against them be hid and disguis'd; as often enough happens, either by ignorance or prevention, or else by the vanity and presumption of those persons, that make it their business to dogmatize; or lastly, by, I know not what, unhappy pleasure we generally take in suffering things to be exaggerated to us, or in exaggerating them ourselves, tending to nothing else, than pleasantly to deceive one another.

Thus, my dear friend, to tell you freely my thoughts of your design; methinks, that in Philosophy, and especially in the study of those high matters which you undertake, there is no middle way: I mean, that either we must, without so much subliming our wits, suffer ourselves to be sweetly carried away by the current, which so many men of good sense, and that are

reputed honest persons and good philosophers, do follow (which to me seems to be the best and surest, as well because of the great labour, this study demands, as of the danger there is, that in philosophizing but by halves, and not penetrating things to the bottom, we get nothing by the bargain but disquieting doubts, making us unhappy the rest of our days, and leaving us often very vicious, and uneasie to society ;) or else, if we will philosophize, to do it to purpose, and that, without fearing the labour, and without suffering our selves to be surprized by the vanity of coveting to pass for extraordinary wits, as also without suffering our selves to be carried away by that unhappy inclination of desiring to live without a master and a Law ; that, I say, without these, we fall resolutely upon the study, and from a pure love to truth, we become obstinate in weighing and weighing again all that comes before us, in meditating, writing, conversing, debating ; in a word, in forgetting nothing of what may contribute to improve our understanding, and to render it more intelligent.

As to what at present you demand of me by your last, *viz.* that I should impart to you what came into my thoughts when I was discoursing with our Danechmend-kan, the learned gentleman of Asia, about all those matters, you are now applying your studies to : I shall tell you freely, and without flattering my self, that you might address your self to a more intelligent person than me, but to none, that hath studied them with more care, then I have done. For I have not only contented my self, exactly to weigh the reasons of all that ever I could come to see of both ancient

and modern authors, Arabians also, and Persians, and Indians; but I have farther conferr'd an hundred times with whatever great men I could any where meet with, 'so far as that I have often *fain'd*, when I was with those *Esprits sorts*, as they will be call'd, that I was not averse from their sentiments, to the end that they might conceal nothing from me. But that being a thing of great prolixity, it will be better, since you are now on the way to return into Europe, to refer that matter to our meeting there, when we shall be able by word of mouth better and more conveniently to declare our thoughts to one another. Yet notwithstanding, that I may not seem to be careless of your desire, I shall in the mean time tell you thus much of the nature of our understanding, that it seems to me very rational to believe, that there is something in us more perfect and excellent, than all that which we call body or matter.

You know, according to the idea that Aristotle hath given us of the first matter of things, that nothing can be imagin'd so imperfect, as it. For, in short, to be nothing but a certain *neque quantum, neque quale*, is, methinks, to approach to a nothing as near as may be. You know also, that all the perfection and proprieties, which Democritus and Epicurus attribute to their primitive bodies, or to the first and sole matter of things, comes in a manner to this that there are certain small and very soild beings, without any vacuity in them, and indivisible; all having some particular and essential figure, so that there is an infinite number of round ones, (for example) an infinity of pyramidal, an infinity of square,

and infinity of cubick, hooked, pointed, triangular ones; and so an innumerable number of other kinds of different figures; all moveable of their own nature, and of an unimaginable celerity; yet some of them more proper for the sensible motion of concretions than others, that is to say, disengaging and separating themselves, or for flying sooner and more easily away than other in the dissolution of compounds, according as they are more or less small, or more or less round, or more or less polish'd and slippery: and lastly, that they are all eternal by their nature, and consequently all incorruptible and independent (as they pretend;) though they be without any sense, reason and judgment. You know, I say, that all the proprieties of their little bodies come, very near, to what I have now said; of which I desire you to be mindful, that so we may hereafter judge, whether they be capable of what is ascribed to them.

Yet, to take nothing from the force of their principles, and to undeceive you; if you believe, I have cast off atoms, I shall avow to you frankly, that the more I consider that division to infinity of any portion of finite matter, the more absurd and unworthy of a philosopher it seems to me: and I believe the reasons, which are alledged to prove it, to be as capacious as those, which Zeno, supposing, this same divisibility brought to prove, that there was no motion since mathematical points, lines and superficies, which have no being but by the understanding, and are without profundity, ought not to be transferr'd and applied to bodies physical, which cannot be without all the dimnsions and are the workmanship of Nature;

to which add, that a philosopher ought to avoid, as much as 'is possible, to dive into infinity, that being a deep and dark abyss, which often serveth men for nothing else but to hide themselves, and in which the wit of man is at a perfect loss.

Moreover, I acknowledge, I am still of that opinion, not only, that atoms⁹ are indivisible, because they are little portions of matter, or little hard bodies, resisting and impenetrable (properties as essential to matter, as extension) and because they are pure, matter continued, without any parts that are only contiguous, and of which each hath its particular and determinate superfiçe ; but also that the separation, disjunction or dissociation of parts, meerly contiguous in a compound, is, in my judgment, the only division conceivable : so that 'tis not possible, not only to divide any atome, that is, any portion of matter purely continuous, though we should suppose it as long as a needle since that to divide it with scissers ; for example, or otherwise, you must come to some penetration, which is inconceivable to us ; and than it must needs be, that something of the needle, some portion or some part (if it may be said, that there are parts in a whole, where there are no contiguous one) do yield, and yet that tis inconceivable, how it were able to yield to the scissers, that should press it, or to make other, anteriour ones, yield without penetration ; and that the more, because the parts pressed, and the parts of the scissers that should press, are both of them of the same nature and the same force, both hard, resisting and impenetrable. So that the doctrine of atoms hath this great advantage, that it doth not so

much as suppose its principles, by demanding to grant out of meer favour the indivisibility of the primitive bodies ; forasmuch as it even cannot be conceived that they are divisible ; nor, how out of soft, yielding and divisible principles there should result a compound that's hard ; nor, how two most subtil portions of matter, coming to hit one against another, should not resist each other by their hardness, without reducing themselves into some dust of smaller particles. Besides, this doctrine demands not, to have it granted out of meer grace, that there must be little void spaces betwixt the parts of bodies compounded, how subtil soever you may devise a matter to fill them up ; seeing it is likewise unconceivable, not only how a motion should be able to begin in *pleno* (where all is perfectly full) but how the parts themselves of this most subtil matter, that must have their particular figures defin'd and determin'd as well as the bigger, can be so perfectly disposed as that there should not still remain some of those little spaces betwixt them.

I shall further acknowledge to you, that I think, it may, in the atomical way of philosophizing, be very well and very rationally conceived, that there is no compound of so admirable a figure, composition, order and texture of parts, taking in the body of man it self, but that it may be formed by the concurrence, order and particular disposition of their little bodies, the atoms, provided there intervenes a guiding and regulating cause, intelligent enough for that purpose.

I shall likewise confess, that from their principles there might result a compound so perfect, as to be capable of the most difficult local motions that could

be imagin'd, such as are, to walk like a living and animal substance; as also, perfectly to imitate the singing, weeping, and all other local motions of the most perfect animals; there being no contradiction at all in it, all watches and so many other artificial engines evincing it, and not suffering us to doubt of the possibility of the thing.

Lastly, I shall very willingly agree, that the sect of Democritus and Epicurus, (it being suppos'd that the atoms are the workmanship of the almighty and all-wise hand of God,) hath very great advantages above the rest, in that it can give a more probable reason of a great number of considerable effects of nature, where others come short; and in my opinion, there are none but such as have not examined things thoroughly, and compar'd other sects with it, that can doubt thereof. But to imagine and to persuade my self, that their principles, with all those advantages, at length are capable, as they would have it, by a particular concourse, order, union and disposition, how admirable soever, and even by an intelligent guidance intervening, to arrive to the forming of such an animal as is man in his operations; this is that my dear friend, which I could never think possible; it hath ever appeared to me contrary to reasons and good sense, and will doubtless, appear so to you, provided you have the patience to recollect what you have heard an hundred times, and which I am now going to repeat to you after my own way.

It is not that I mean to preach to you, and to make you believe I am become a very good man after my return (a traveller like my self, and brought up in the

school of atoms, might possibly do miracles, which I know not whether men would believe any thing of ;) be perswaded, that if I take upon me to discourse to you, it is not out of any vanity or affectation, but from my inmost sense, and with all possible sincerity. Nor is it, that I pretended, with all this Asiatic preamble, to have found any new reasons in the Indies ; expect no such thing, I pray : I do almost despair as well as Cicero, that men should ever find any thing more upon this subject beyond what hath been already found. It would be no hard task for me to shew, that all what the moderns have said concerning it, is either nothing, or nothing new ; there would need no more, than to begin with taking up again, with Gassendi and Arnault have written about it against Des Cartes, to which I find not, that he hath made any answer : and it were to be wished, that he had been able to answer them so demonstratively and magisterially, as it seems he would have men believe he did : I should embrace, and little less than adore the author of a demonstration upon this argument ; and to such an one the following verses would be much more deservedly applicable, than to that ancient atomist ;

*ui genus humanumgenio superavit, & omnes
Prastinxit stellas, exortus uti æthereus Sol.*

I shall therefore desire but one thing of you, which is, that you would please to make (which seems to me the only thing to be done here) a serious reflection upon what passeth within us, and upon the operations of our understanding : and that thereupon you would tell me sincerely, whether you think, that there is

proportion between the perfection of those operations, and the imperfection of what we call body or matter ; supposing (what you will easily grant me) that how much soever you strain your mind, you shall never conceive any other thing in atoms, and generally in all that's body or matter, than those proprieties already enumerated, seize, shape, hardness, indivisibility, motion ; or, if you will (which matters not here) softness and divisibility.

I promise my self, that you will readily grant me this request, which is, to go over again those ingenious and agreeable thoughts of yours, that have been drawn out of your memories ; and those many other fragments of the same force of wit that have been left behind and generally all those other poetical transports and raptures of your Homer, Virgil, and Horace, which seem to have something of divine in them : and you will not refuse in that serenity of mind and philosophical temper, wherein sometimes you are in the morning to make some reflection upon four or five things, that seem to me to deserve very well the attention of a philosopher. The first is, that our senses are not only struck by bodies so, as the eyes of a statue or an automaton, but that we feel their impression, the titillation and pain, and that even we perceive that we feel, when we say, I perceive that this or that pleaseth my taste much more or much less than ordinarily ; that my pain is much less or much more than it was ; and so of an hundred things else. The second, that often we stay not there, but deduce these particular conclusions ; we ought therefore to follow this ; or we ought to shun that : and afterwards, these

general ones ; all what is good, is to be followed ; and all what is evil, is to be avoided. •The third that we remember what is passed, and consider what is present, and fore-see what is to come. The fourth, that sometimes we endeavour to 'penetrate into our selves, into that which is inmost in us, as I now do when I am searching ' what I ' am ; what is this reasoning power that is within me ; what are these thoughts ; these Ratiocinations, and these reflections I make, reflecting thus upon my self and my operations. The fifth, that being resolutely set to meditate upon a thing, we sometimes make new discoveries, find new reasons, or at least see those that have been found already, weighing them, and comparing one with another, and sometimes drawing thence such consequences, as shall depend from a greater number of antecedent propositions, which may be seen as 'twere in one view, and concur all to deduce such a conclusion ; as it comes to pass in all sciences, especially the mathematicks ; wherein our spirit shews I know not what force and admirable extent.

These few reflections might suffice for what I demand of you ; and that the rather, because as I can say more comes almost to the same thing. But you must resolve for once to endure the style of these countreys of Asia, the air of which I have breathed so long, and to have the patience further to cast your eyes on a thing that seems to me very considerable ; which is, that we know not only particular things that make impression upon our senses, but that our understanding, by I know, not what admirable force and capacity, taketh occasion to know

and to form to it self ideas of a thousand things, that fall not immediately and wholly as they are under the senses ; for example, that, 'man is a reasonable animal' ; that 'the sun is much bigger than the whole earth' ; that 'tis impossible, one thing should be at the same time and not be' ; that 'two things, being equal to a third, are equal among themselves' ; that 'the absence of the sun causeth the night' ; that 'all what's generated is subject to corruption' ; that 'of nothing nothing can be naturally made' ; as not 'any thing that is, can naturally return to nothing' ; that of necessity there is something eternal and un-created in the Universe, God, or the first matter of things, or both, or that God created this matter, and that either from all eternity or in time : and and an infinity more of other great and vast thoughts and remote from matter, of which we scarce know by what door they have entred into our mind.

Now, all these actions, I have been speaking of, that argue so great a force and power, capacity and extent of the mind of man ; all those inter motions ; that peculiar state which we cannot perfectly explain, but yet plainly feel and perceive in our selves, when we attentively reflect on what passeth within us, and consider our operations ; all those actions, I say, and interiour motions, or whatever you will call them, can they indeed be ascribed to spirits, to a wind, to fire, to air, to atoms, to particles of a subtil matter, and, in a word, to be anything that hath no other qualities or proprieties than what can be comprized under this word, *body*, how small and fine and nimble soever it may be into what

texture or disposition soever it may be, cast, and of what motions soever it may be made, capable? It cannot: we shall never be able to imagine that these things are meer local motions of some engine barely artificial, dead, insensible, without judgment, without reason; these can never be any of those inward actions I have mention'd, as, that I see or know that I know; that I see I reason; that I see those reasonings, and perceive that I see them.

Moreover, let us a little cast our eyes upon some of the main propositions of Euclid, (not to speak of those of Archimedes, Apollonius, and so many others;) for my part, when I think only on the 47th. of the 1st. of Euclid, I there find something so great and noble, that I avow to you, I can hardly believe that it was an humane invention so that I should imagine, that it was therefore that Pythagoras, after he had been so happy as to find this incomparable proposition, was so ravished and transported, that he made that famous Sacrifice to thank the Gods, and had a mind to declare thereby that this invention surpassed the reach of an humane understanding.

Yet I would not therefore say, that there is reason to believe, that in man there is a particle of divinity, or some such thing. This is an unreasonable tenet of some Stoicks, and of the Cabalists of Persia, and of the Brachmans of India, who, to acknowledge openly the nobleness and perfection of the spirit of man, chose rather to cast themselves into this extremity, than to believe it to be so base and imperfect,

as to be all body and matter. I am far from entertaining such a sentiment ; you will see in the letter to Mounsieur Chapelain, that I cannot believe this to be an opinion defensible by a philosopher : but this I do, I observe in man, as well as those Stoicks and Jothers, something so perfect, so great and high, that their opinion seems to me an hundred times less absurd, than that, which holds that in man, and even in the whole universe, there is nothing but body, but bodily, and local motions, but atoms, but matter.

Lord ! when I think on't, who is the man, how little of good sense soever he may have, that can perswade himself, that when an Archimedes, a Pythagoras, and others of those great men, had those effects of the mind, and were in their deep meditations, there was then nothing in their heads and brains but what was corporeal, nothing but vital and animal spirits, nothing but a certain natural heat, nothing but particles of a very subtil matter, or nothing but atoms, which though they be insensible, and without all understanding and reason, and do not so much, (according to the doctrine of the atomists,) as move but by a fatal and blind motion and hit, (should yet come to move and concur so likely and wonderfully, that, as once by such a concourse they had formed the head of those great men, such as it is with those innumerable organs so industriously order'd and dispos'd ; so also they should then be so lucky as to form and produce those subtil thoughts, and profound meditations ; or rather that they should come to move themselves in all those organs in so wonderful a manner, as at last fall into a certain order and into a certain disposition and state, so

marvellous, that they themselves were that conceiving, seeing, meditating, those admirable propositions, and those divine inventions?

• Add to this, when we find our selves, upon some affront, or other displeasure received ready to fall into choler and rage, and yet stop our passion; I pray, this internal commander and command, which we feel, this kind of obedience, of moderation and retreat, that is made, for example, upon the account of some consideration of honesty, of honour and virtue, and against that natural inclination we have to be revenged; what is that interiour motion and state? Can it be rationally said, that 'tis nothing but some rollings, counter-motions, reflections and peculiar conjunctions, and textures of atoms or spirits, or of little masses or particles of matter, which are made within those nerves, those fine membranes, those very subtil channels and organs of the brain, heart, and other parts of the body? These are pure Chimera's.

A word more concerning Liberty: when the apprehension of taking an ill part for a good, we keep our selves in a poyse, seeking within our selves all the reasons that are for and against, and seriously pondering and examining them; this apprehension, this research, this ballancing and the resolution we at last take to do or not to do the thing; all that, all those motions, all that inward state and way of being (I speak in no other terms than they) shall it be nothing but a fortuitous and blind concourse of little bodies? Is't possible that you can imagine or perswade your self this? Lucrece himself, that sworn partisan of the Epicurean sect, could not do it, resolve to attribute to atoms alone

those free motions of the will. For if the will, saith he, is drawn away from fatality, and raised above destiny, *et fatis avulsa voluntas*, &c. How can he, with all his *clinamen* or deviation of principles, have believed in good earnest and without scruples, that there is nothing but body, and nothing done in us, more than elsewhere, but by a natural, eternal, independent, immutable and inevitable concourse of atoms? He was not ignorant, that that being so, neither the will, nor any other thing, whatsoever could be drawn and exempted from that concatenation and eternal and immutable sequel of motions and causes, that would follow and succeed one another by eternal orders absolutely necessary and unchangeable.

Besides all this, I could put you in mind of many reasons that are wont to be alledged upon this subject. You know that great man, who hath collected more of them than a score of very good ones. But that would be to abuse your patience too much; and besides I see not, that there is much more of any importance to be considered hereupon, than what I have lately represented unto you.

I could also tell you, how I judge that all objections, made upon this point, may be most rationally answer'd; but I know, that you are not a person, for whom books are to be made. I shall only mention two things to that purpose.

The first is, that 'tis true what they say, that eating, drinking, health; natural heat, the spirits, and a good disposition of organs, (all which are natural things, and as they speak, depending from atoms as principles and the first matter) are things necessary

to all those thoughts, reasonings and reflections and, in a word, to all those internal operations I have mentioned. This is a thing that cannot be denied, and which every one doth too sensibly experiment not to aver it : but thence to conclude, that what soever intervenes and concurs to form those operations, is only and meerly body, atoms, spirits, subtil matter, is that which, after the least reflection made upon their excellency, and upon the imperfection of bodies or atoms, or upon the little resemblance there is in their qualities to those operations, can never with any good sense be granted : so that, methinks the most that might be allow'd, would be, that the atoms, and spirits, and all those other things alledged, are indeed necessary as conditions or dispositions, or the like, and not as the first and absolute principles, and as the total cause of the operations ; but that there is requisite some other thing than all that, sometimes nobler, higher, and more perfect.

The second thing is, that 'tis also, that we cannot form a right, or, as they speak, a next and positive idea of what is above a body or of any thing that is not body : this, indeed, we cannot do, in my opinion, whilst we are in this mortal state so strictly united to the body ; the dependance of the bodily senses, that so much confine and obscure the light of our understanding, hinders us from it : but I see not that thence it is to be concluded, that therefore there is really nothing above body, or atoms, or matter. For, how many things are there, of which we have no such positive idea, which yet reason obligeth us to avow that they have a real being ? Or rather, how few things

are there, of which we have any true idea's? Have these philosophers themselves any positive idea of their atoms? They acknowledge that their smallness is such, that it cannot be so much as imagin'd by hearing this word "atom" pronounc'd or explain'd: so far are they from being capable to fall under our senses, and from imprinting in us a true and positive idea; and yet notwithstanding they believe, and conclude from reason, that they are. A mathematician, hath he the positive idea of the magnitude of the sun? It is so prodigious, and so far remote from the capacity of the senses, that we are not able even so much as to imagine it such as it is; and yet for all this, there is none that is not fully perswaded and convinced thereof by the force of demonstrations, and that knows not perfectly, that he exceeds by far the bigness of the globe of the earth. And besides, it is not true, that the nature of a thing may be known two manner of ways; either positively, as when it falls under some one or more of our senses, or as when we give a positive definition thereof; or negatively, by saying what it is not. Now I shall grant, that we are not capable to know the principle of our operations or Ratiocinations by the first way, to say what it is, and how those operations are made and produced. Alas! we are not so happy; we should need other senses far more perfect than all those we have. We are not born to dive and philosophize so far:

Invida praecluserit speciem natura videndi.

But we ought also to acknowledge, that at least we are capable to know it after the second way: so that, if we cannot say truly and positively what it is, we can

at least say, and certainly know what it is not : I mean that from the perfection of the operations, which we do evidently see to be such as that they have no proportion with all those proprieties and perfections of atoms, and do universally surpass the reach of what is merely body; we can deduce a certain conclusion, that the principle of such operations, and those operations themselves must needs be something above all that's body or corporeal. Which is here sufficient for me, who at the beginning engaged my self no further, and pretend not, that we can make a true and positive idea of that principle; but only that we can and ought to conclude by Ratiocination, that there must needs be something, as hath been said, that is far more perfect and far more noble than all that is in the rank of bodies, whatever its being or nature may be.

But shall I make an end, fully to discover unto you my thought? You well know, whether I am a person that taketh pleasure in vaunting, or in forging untruths, or to speak things at random in a matter so important as this. It cannot be denied, that there is a very great difference between the operations of brutes, and those admirable operations of man, of which we now treat : I speak not only in respect of those of their outward senses, but also in reference to those of their inward ones, or their imagination. All that is so much beneath the reasoning of man, that we must avow, there is nor any proportion and that those of man a very differing and infinitely more perfect principle. Notwithstanding all that (and this is the thought I would declare to you) I should think that person an hundred times less absurd, that should go

about to maintain, that in the principle of those operations of brutes, whether it be of their internal or even their external senses, there were somewhat more perfect than corporeity and all that may be understood and comprehended under the name of body, or matter, or spirits; than him, that should pretend the principle of the operations of man were meerly corporeal: so much do I take this opinion to be out of all reason, and unworthy of a man of good judgment. Certainly it can be no serious philosophy; it can be nothing but an excess of vanity, that hath cast those philosophers, we have spoken of, into such an irrational extreame. They doubtless saw, that their sect had great advantages above all the rest, in being able to explain with much ease and probability abundance of the most considerable effects of nature, only by local motion, and the order and particular disposition of their matter, corpuscles or atoms: and thence they would make us believe, that by the same principles they could give an account of all, and explicate whatever concerns the spirit of man, and the operations thereof.

My dear friend, have not you and I concluded an hundred times, that how much soever we strain'd our understanding, we could never conceive, how from insensible corpuscles there could ever result any thing sensible without the intervention of any thing but what's insensible; and that with all their atoms, how small and how numble soever they make them, what motions and figures soever they give them, and in what order, mixture, or disposition they range them, yea and whatever industrious hand they assign them for guidance, they would never be able (still supposing with

them, that they have no other proprieties or perfections than those recited) to make us imagine, how thence could result a compound, I say not, that should be reasoning like man, but that should be merely sensitive, such as may be the vilest and the most imperfect worm on earth. How then dare they pretend, that they will make it out, how thence can result a thing imagining, a thing reasoning, and such an one as shall be the imaginations and Ratiocinations themselves?

For my part, if you'll believe me, let us lay aside all that presumption and vanity of those *esprits forts*; let us not pretend to be able to explicate the nature of the principle of our reasonings in the same manner, as we might do the other things that fall under our senses, and let us not play the Geometers upon it. We are not, as I have already said, happy enough for that; 'tis a thing which cannot be done in this mortal state, and in this great dependance from the corporeal senses in which we stand. Yet notwithstanding we ought to form a higher idea of our selves, and not to make our soul to be of such base alloy, as those philosophers, too corporeal in this point, would have us do. We ought to believe for certain, that we are infinitely more noble and more perfect than they make us, and resolutely maintain, that though we cannot exactly know what we are, yet we know very well and very certainly, what we are not; which is, that we are not altogether of mire and dirt, as they pretend. Farewel.

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APPENDIX I.

A few Historical Biographical and Geographical Notes.

Acham, p. 152, Assam. Bernier, who is an excellent and exhaustive narrator of contemporary events, gives only a meagre account of Meer Jumla's wars with the Rajas of Assam and Aracan. It is also curious to note that he is altogether silent about the affairs of Cooch Behar. For an elaborate account the reader is referred to Stewart's *History of Bengal*, pp. 327-331, *et supra*. ("Bangabasi" reprint.)

Adalet-kanay, p. 246. Adalwat-khana or the Chamber of Justice, presided over by Quazis, representing the modern district courts.

Adrican, p. 116. M. D. Van Adrichem was the chief of the Dutch Factory at Surat, 1662-65.

Aguacy-die, p. 346. Akash dip, the sky lamp, a common phenomenon in Bengal.

Agý, p. 105. Hajee, one who has made a Hod-z or pilgrimage to Mecca.

Allaverdi-kan, p. 74. Aliverdi Khan, Governor of the Punjab disgraced by Shah Jehan, see Dow's "*Hindustan*," vol. iii. 186-87. "By the advice of Aliverdi Khan (who is said to have been bribed by Aurungzebe), in an unlucky moment (Shujaa) quitted the elephant, and mounted his horse. * * * but the greater part of the army perceiving the *ambhary* (seat with a canopy), empty, concluded their master was slain, and fled

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with precipitation."—Stewart, History of Bengal, p. 296 Dow mentions his name only but does not say a word about his treachery. Both Khafi Khan and Elphinstone are totally silent on this point.

Alg', p. 7. Married Mahomet's only daughter Fatima Biby by whom he had two sons, Huzrats Hossein and Hassein.

Aly-Merdan-kan, p. 165. Alimardan Khan, Shah Abbass's Governor of Kandahar. For his implicacy in the affairs of Kandahar, see the elaborate account given in Sir H. M. Elliot's "History of India as told by its own Historians," vol. vii. p. 64 *seqq.*, and also the "History of Hindostan" by Colonel Dow, vol. iii. pp. 171-72, 178, 185.

An-kan, p. 242, the Place of Audience. A detailed account of the ceremony referred to by Bernier (p. 233) may be found in Abul Fazel's *Ayecn-i Akbari*, vol. i. p. 266-67.

Ananas, p. 409, (the *anarash*) or pine-apple. It is curious to note what the Emperor Jehangir says: "the ananauss (pine-apple, being among the most delicious of those reared in the island of the Frengueis (or Portuguese)"—Autobiographical Memoirs.

Arac, p. 237. It is generally understood as the tincture or liquid extract of something. Compare Skt. *ashab* (liquor). The current Hind. slang for grog is *sharab*, (from sherbet).

Architecture, p. 277. Bernier here alludes to the five Gothic Orders *viz.* Corinthian, Ionian, etc.

Artisans, p. 209. Bernier's remarks on the general decay of artisans though one-sided and scanty, its veracity cannot, however, be denied.

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Astrôlogers, p. 227. For the reference of Kings and Lords occasionally consulting them the readers are referred to the "Autobiographical Memoirs" of Jehangir Aureng-zeb. Aurungzebe, the third son of Shah Jehan by Sultana Mumtaz Zemani or, Kudsia Begum Jehangir 'called the infant Aurungzebe, or the Ornament of the Throne."—Dow. "Aurangzeb was born in the year 1028 A. H. (1619 A. D.) at Dhud, which is on the frontiers of the suba of Ahmedabad and Malwa."—Khafi Khan. •

His full name and title according to Khafi Khan, is, "Abu-l Muzaffar Muhiu-d din Muhammed Aurangzeb Bahadur 'Alamgir Badshah-i Ghazi."

p. 82,—On the 1st Zi-l ka'da 1068 A. H. (22nd July, 1658 A. D.), after saying his prayers and at an auspicious time he took his seat on the throne of the Empire of Hindustan."—*Muntukhab-ul Lebab*.

He manages and imprisons Morad Baksh, pp 65-66. For an elaborate description, the readers are referred to Dow's History of Hindostan, vol. iii. pp, 269, 271-73.

Babêl-mandel, Bab-el Mandeb (Arb. the gate of mourning)

Baganala, p. 426. Major Rennell calls it "Baglana or Baglanch." See *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan* p. 258 *et seq.*

Banque, p. 101. Stewart, Dow and Khafi Khan do not mention the name of Sujah's son. Stewart says Sujah's eldest son's age was 16 years. In *Alumgeer-nama*, his name is mentioned as Sultan Zain-ul-abidin,

Baramoule, p. 369. "The distance between Sirinagur and Barehmooleh (the outlet of Behut)

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which is no more than $11\frac{1}{2}$ royal cofses by land ; 14 by water."—Rennell.

Batavia, p. 161. Stewart does not mention it. He says in a foot-note that, "he (Shaisfa Khan) demanded the assistance of some European gunners from the Dutch and English Factories."

Begum-Saheb, Jehan-â:a Begum. She was the eldest and the favourite daughter of Shah Jehan by his beloved wife Mumtaz Zemani.

Beig, p. 1. The Beig or Bey of the Red Sea was a chief functionary, one of his duties was to control and look after the pilgrims to Mecca.

Bember, p. 364. " 33 Acbaree cofses, on a bearing of N, a little W from Lahore."—Rennell.

Bernier, François. For a brief sketch of his life and works, see Preface and Introduction. The Honourable Monstuart Elphinstone, Major Rennell, etc. were greatly indebted to him and the former frequently quotes (vol. ii. pp. 433-34.) from him in his History, in narrating the reigns of the Emperors Shah Jehan and Aurungzebe. For an estimate of Bernier's Travels, see his History, vol. ii. p. 447. Col. Dow does not, however, mention his name ; but in describing Aurungzebe's demands of Dara's daughter and certain jewels from Shah Jehan, he almost quotes Bernier *verbatim*. Compare Dow's History of Hindostan, vol. iii. p. 373 with Bernier's descriptions.

Bianes, p. 275. See Rennell's Memoir, p. 64.

Billa, p. 139. Bi-i'llahi = by God.

Brampour, p. 27. Most important place during the ascendancy of the Moguls. Rennell calls it Burhan-pour and assigns a position in his map at $76^{\circ} 19'$

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Cadjoue, p. 73. Khafi Khan does not mention this name. "At the village of Kora."—Alumgir-namah. "By the tank of Khajwa or Kachhwa."—Amil-i Salih. "Kidgwa about thirty miles from Allahabad."—Dow. Sujah's defeat was totally unexpected as will be seen from the current Hindustani proverb :

"*Suja jit bājl āpnā hāt hārā*" i. e. Sujah at the moment of winning the game, lost it, (through his own folly.)

Caravan-serrah, p. 263, is called the "Begum Sarai."

Chah-Abbas, Shah Abbas. For an account of the reign of this illustrious monarch, see Malcolm's History of Persia, and Dow's History of Hindostan, vol. iii.

Chah-Jehan, Prince Khoorum became Emperor Shah Jehan. It is said that he was the richest of all his contemporary sovereigns. For an estimate of his riches, see Elphinstone's History of India, vol. ii. p. 435. "Shah Jahan reigned thirty-one years, and he was secluded and under restraint nearly eight years."—Khafi Khan.

Chah-limar, p. 328. Shalimar. Shah Jehan began this garden in 1631. On the occasion of the opening ceremony of Shalimar, the Emperor gave a grand festival. The garden was completed at an expenditure of one million sterling.

Chah-hest-kan, Shaista Khan. "Maternal uncle of Aurungzebe."—Grant Duff. "The Ameer-al-Omrah, son of the celebrated Vizier Asuf Jah, and nephew of the empress Noor Jehan."—Stewart. For an account of the affairs in Bengal under him, see the History of Bengal, pp. 334-341 and 347-365. For his

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actions with Sivaji in 'the Deccan, see Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas, vol. i. pp. 191-97 ; also the Muntakhab ul Lebab of Khafi Khan, vol. ii. pp. 119, 171.

Chapelain, Mr., Bernier's most intimate friend and patron. The letter written to him by Bernier about the 'Gentiles of Indostan' is full of curious mis-statement of facts and remarks. It is a matter of great regret that Bernier, who possessed an uncommon tact in minute observation, deplorably failed to have the real informations and to appreciate them in their true light. See Introduction.

Chiras, wine, called *Shérâsi*. It was a favourite drink of the Mogul Kings, inmates of the harem, noblemen and ladies.

Concubines, p. 132. A large number of concubines kept by Mogul Emperors, Omrahs and richmen. See Jehanghir's Autobiography.

Cotoual, modern Superintendent of Police

Danesh-mend-Kan. It is curious to note that neither Khafi Khan nor Dow mention anything about, even the name of this Mahometan *swint*.

Dara. Dara Shekoh. For an exhaustive account of Dara's melancholy history readers are referred to Khafi Khan's narrative and specially Col. Dow's History of Hindostan, vol. iii.

Dara led triumphantly etc. p. 93. "The Emperor, who gave orders that both father and son should be carried into the city chained and seated on an elephant, and thus be exposed to the people in the *Chandni chaur* and the *bazar*, after which they were to be carried to Khizirabad in old Dehli; and there confined."—Khafi Khan.

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Dara, murdered, p. 96. Khafi Khan does not mention the name of the murderers. Dow certainly follows Bernier word per word, in every detail about the murder. Compare Dow, vol. iii. pp. 333 34. Khafi Khan says, - "After he was slain, his body was placed on a *houda* and carried round the city: So once alive and once dead he was exposed to the eyes of all men, and many wept over his fate. He was buried in the tomb of Humayun." The Alungir-nama, however, does not corroborate this statement. The tragic incident happened, according to Amil-i Salih on the 26th day of Zil-hijja, 1069 A. H. (Sept. 1659)

Dara's wife p. 96. Nadira Bannu, daughter of Purvez. Khafi Khan says that she died in Jiwan Khan's territory and her corpse was sent to Lahore to be buried there. The Alungir-nama states that she left a will desiring to be buried in Hindustan. Bernier's statement that "she had poyson'd her self" has not been corroborated by Dow, who following Khafi Khan says that she died of illness. "She died of dysentery and vexation." - Khafi Khan.

Delhi. The Indrapastha of Mahabharat. According to Ferishta, Delhi was founded by Delu about 300 B. C. For a geography of ancient Delhi, see Rennell's *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan*, p. 66 *seqq.*

Dowlet-Abad, p. 15. According to Rennell it was formerly a province and its capital was Deogire (Devagiri).

Deccan Kow, (where is Deccan ?) Meer Jumla's was war-cry ; but its significance is not at all clear. The favourite war-cry of the Mahometans is "Alla-hu-Ekkbar."

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Deura, p. 287. Bernier who was a good Persian scholar gives the orthography of Persian words with precision; but as regards the words of Sanskrit origin, he has distorted it to such an extent that it is almost impossible to make out the exact significance or to detect the very expression as he puts it. Or it might be due to the transcriber whose knowledge of Oriental languages was perhaps too limited. Bernier might have written "Deutra" i. e. "Deotra" as in the case of "Deuta" Debata, p. 287 *seqq.* *

Dider-kan, p. 119. Bernier who pretended that he might not be thought to "prepare matter for a romancer" in matters of clandestine love stories, is, however, more than what he pretends. He does not "scruple to relate" here as in other places, such incidents as would furnish ample "matter for a romancer."

Ekbar, Emperor Akbar the Great. For his wars in Chitore, see Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. i. chap. x. xi. & xii. His toleration to Christianity,—see Abul Fazel's *Akbar-nama*, v. 351. His toleration to other religions,—see Sir H. M. Elliot's *History of India as told by its own Historians*, vol. v. pp. 524, 526-29.

His monument in Agra, p. 376. Jehangir in his *Autobiographical Memoirs* says that the tomb is at Sekendera, 3 kosses from Agra. (p. 58) A mausoleum was erected by him over this tomb, see p. 78

Elabas p. 33. According to Khafi Khan the battle was fought near Benares. Mohammed Kazim, the author of the *Alumgir-nama* says that it was fought "at the village of Bahadurpur, on the side of the Ganges."

Emir-Jumla. Mohammed Saiyd Meer Joomla,

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Nawab, Muazim Khan, Khan Khanan, Sepah Selar. "He was originally a diamond merchant."—Grant Duff. For a detailed account of his life and career, see Dow's Hindostan and Scott's Deccan; for his career in Bengal, see Stewart's Bengal, pp. 264-333. (Bangabasi reprint)

Emir-kan, p. 15. Mahomet. According to Grant Duff, he was a dissolute youth and his name was Mohummud Amin. Stewart calls him Ameen Khan.

Ethiopia, modern Abyssinia.

Feday-kan, p. 113. Not to be confounded with Fedai Khan, a courtier of Jehangir whom he appointed to the Subedership of Bengal in 1627. The man referred to here was Aurungzeb's foster-brother, who became the Subeder of Bengal in 1677. See Stewart's Bengal, p. 341.

Franguis. From 'Franks.' The Portuguese were first called the Feringhees; but afterwards it became a general term for all Europeans. Jehangir calls them 'Francs.'

Gamon, p. 374. This name is also quoted by Rennell.

Gion-kan, p. 91. "Malik Jiwan, zamindar of Dhandar."—Khafi Khan. The Amil-i Salih says that "the zamindar was bound in gratitude to Dara by many kindnesses and favours." Khafi Khan says also that he had long been bound to him (Dara) by acts of generosity.

He received the title of "Bakthyar Khan," and a mansab of 1000, with 200 horse, were conferred upon him.

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Jiwan mobbed. We quote the following description from Khafī Khan to prove what Bernier *saw* : "The idlers, the partisans of Dara Shukoh, the workmen and people of all sorts, inciting each other, gathered into a mob, and assailing Jiwan and his companions with abuse and imprecations, they pelted them with dirt and filth and clods and stones, so that several persons were knocked down and killed, many were wounded. Jiwan was protected by shield held over his head, and he at length made his way through the crowd to the palace. They say that the disturbance on this day was so great that it bordered on rebellion. If the kotwāl had not come forward with policemen, not one of Malik Jiwan's followers would have escaped with life. Ashes and pots full of urine and ordure were thrown down from the roofs of the houses upon the heads of the Afghans, and many of the bystanders were injured."

"The country people rose upon him everywhere. They hunted him from place to place; till at length he met with his deserts and was slain when he had almost reached the boundaries of his own government."
→Dow, History of Hindostan.

Guergong, p. 153. "The capital of Assam, Ghergong (or Kirgaun), 160 G. miles nearly E by N from Gualparah."—Rennell. This place is the modern Kurigaon.

Hasmer, p. 425. Modern Ajmere, and Haoud, Oude.

Haidarabad, garden, p. 94. According to Khafī Khan, Dara was kept at Khizrabad.

Incarnations of Vishnu, p. 310. As we have remarked before, the reader, will be able to see the utter

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nonsense of Bernier's description. It is very strange, indeed, that man like him could have been misinformed to absurdity—nay ridicule. ;

'Jagannat, p. 425. The subah of Jagannath is the present Orissa division.

Jamel, p. 239. Jaymul, 'Raja. Col. Tod in his Rajasthan, vol. i. chap. x. quotes this portion from Bernier.

Jehan-Guyre, Shah'zada Selim assumed the title of Jehangir. His drinking habits, pp. 5, 81. See the "*Tuzû'k-i Jahângirî*" or Jehangir's Autobiography, pp. 6-7, (Translated by Major David Price, 4to. London, 1829) He tolerated Christianity p. 271. See Elphinstone's History of India, vol. ii. p. 363. His nephews are said to be converted to Christianity, ditto. His prohibition of the slaughter of cattle, p. 307, see the Autobiographical Memoirs, p. 8. Religious disputes at his Court, Dow, vol. iii. p. 391.

Jesseigne. Rana of Ambar, called 'Mirza Raja Jay Sing by Khafi Khan and Grant Duff. For an account of his wars with Sivaji, see James Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas, vol. i. pp. 203-17, and Orme's Historical Fragments, pp. 16-27.

Died at Brampur. Orme suspects that he was poisoned by Aurungezebe, see Historical Fragments, pp. 27, 104. Bernier's statement of a pension on and condolence with his son Raja or Kunwar Ram Sing do not coincide with Orme's. Orme on the other hand says that he 'admitted the capitation tax in his country,' and many other restrictions had been proposed to be imposed on him. See the Fragments, p. 104.

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and murder, see Khafi Khan's excellent narrative as quoted in Elliot's History, vol. vii., pp. 266-67.

Mosquee, p. 261. The celebrated Jumma Musjid. "He (Aurg.) keeps the appointed fasts on Fridays leads the Friday prayers in the Jami masjid."

Nagar-kanay, p. 242. Same as the Nahabat khana in these days.

Nour-Jehan, her maiden name was Mehr-ul-Nissa. See Stewart's History of Bengal, § vi.

Palekey. The ordinary sedan in India. in 1691 "An order was issued that no Hindu should ride in a palki or on an Arab horse without permission."—Khafi Khan.

Paranda, p. 172. About 60 miles S. W. of Dharwar, on the route from Ahmednagar to Sholapur. Grant Duff calls it Purandhar.

Pegn, elephant of, p. 93. The elephant of Pegu was the favourite animal with Emperor Jehangir. See his Autobiography.

Philosophy, Hindu. For Bernier's incapacity to appreciate its true merits, see Introduction.

Pire-pengale, p. 361. Lies on the road to Srinagar. "The road lies over three mountainous ridges, named Ruttan-Punchal, Peer-Punchal, and Nari-Birari, which take up more than 26 miles"—Rennell.

Polta, p. 239. The celebrated Putta of Chitore. For an account of his heroic exploits see Col. Tod's Rajasthan, vol. i., chap. x.

Portuguese. See Khafi Khan's accounts as quoted in Sir H. M. Elliot's History of India, vol. vii. pp. 344-46. Stewart's History of Bengal, § vi. and Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas, vol. i., chap. ii.

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Predestination, p. 421. Bernier was a materialist. He was a firm believer in the theory of Necessity as opposed to the Rationalistic school of philosophers who believe in the theory of Freedom of the Will.

Roup, Raja, p. 166. Killed in the battle of Samugarh. Two other persons of the same name have been mentioned by Khafi Khan; one, Raja Roup Sing, father-in-law of Prince Muazim the other, one Raja Rajrup who wrote a menacing letter to the Raja of Srinagar to surrender Soliman Shekoh.

Roupies of gold, p. 57. Bernier who gives the name of various coins does not mention "mohar" which is the exact term current in India, for 'roupies of gold.'

Sadulla-kan, p. 19. Sadulla Khan Allami was the Vezier of Shah Jehan.

Samonguer, pp. 44-50. Dow does not mention the name of this place. "On the 6th Ramzan, (1068 A. H. 10th May, 1651 A. D.) near Samugarh, the two armies encamped about half a kos distant from each other."—Khafi Khan.

Dara's descending from the elephant through the treachery of Kalil-ulla Khan is a puzzling question. Khafi Khan and Dow do not give us any light on the subject. Khafi Khan says—"a rocket struck the howda of his (Dara's) elephant. This alarmed and discouraged him so much that he dismounted in haste from his elephant, without even waiting to put on his slippers." Col. Dow says that Dara was almost blinded with the blood of his foster-brother, who was killed by a cannon ball. A rocket at the same time

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passed by his ear, and another struck the howdah and burst. The elephant driver (a lord—Kalil-ulla Khan?) made the animal retreat. Through the advice of this elephant driver lord, Dara mounted on a horse.

Sené Brary, p. 383. In Rennell's Memoir, a place called "Nari-Birari" is mentioned. See the note on Pire-penjale above.

Sepe-Chekouh, p. 91. Sefer Shekoh. Here as well as in page 93, Bernier calls him Dara's "grand child," perhaps, through mistake. He was, in fact, Dara's son.

Seraglio, p. 250. The seraglio or harem of an Oriental Potentate is a thing of curiosity to the Europeans. We can not, however, make a true estimate of the seraglio of the Great Mogul from the following insufficient informations furnished by Bernier. Tavernier, his contemporary traveller has given an interesting account of the Grand Signor's Seraglio, (Travels, London, ed. 1684) which may be read with interest.

"Women's fair" in the seraglio, p. 255. It is called the Khosh-roz or the day of the gaiety and pleasure; and also the *No-rôz* or the new year's day. See the beautiful description given by Col. James Tod in his Rajasthan, vol. i. chap. xi.

Ser-apah, p. 191. Ser-o-pah, head and foot *i. e.* from head to foot; has its exact French equivalent in *cap-à-pie*. Now it means bukshish reward, or presents.

Srenaguer, capital of Cashmeer. According to Bernier and Forster, Srinagar is a separate province, and Cashmeer is the capital of Cashmeer, see page 370 *seqq.* Raja Pirthi Sing was the chief of Srinagar who gave shelter to Soliman.

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Seva²Gi, Sivaji, his mid-night attack of **Shaista Khan's** house.—Grant Duff gives almost the same but an abridged version, as narrated by **Khafi Khan**. See the exhaustive description by the latter. **Bernier's** account is fragmentary. For a detailed account, read **Khafi Khan's** narrative together with Grant Duff's "History of the Mahrattas," vol. i. chap. vi-vii. **Shaista Khan's** wife persuaded the Emperor to destroy **Sivaji**—see **Orme's** "Historical Fragments," p. 17; but in the note, xiv., p. xxxviii., where he quotes from **Dow**, who on the strength of certain 'Persic manuscripts says that "the daughter of **Aurengzebe** was struck with the handsomeness of his person, admired the pride and haughty deportment, and interceded at the feet of her father."

Soliman-Chekouh, **Soliman Shekoh**. **Dara's** son. He was brought to **Dehli** by **Kunwar Ram Sing**, son of **Raja Jay Sing**.

Sujah, Sultan, second son **Shah Jehan**. For a detailed account of his contest in the civil wars, see **Stewart's Bengal**, vi. pp. 288-312. No historian is positively certain about his fate. **Col. Dow** gives a melancholy story of his and his family's fate, which is almost by **Stewart**. See **History of Hindostan**, vol. iii, pp. 353-54.

Tage-Mehalle, p. 276. See **Elphinstone's History of India**, vol. ii. p. 134. **Mr. Orme** says that the **Taj** was erected at the expenditure of £750,000.

Tage-mehalle, wife of **Shah Jehan**, p. 276. **Mumtaz Zemani**, **Nawab 'Aliga Begum**, **Sultana Arjemund Banu**, **Kudsia Begum**, the daughter of **Vizier Asaf Jah**, immortalised by her husband **Shah Jehan**.

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Tarbiet-kan, p. 167. For an account of his Humiliation by Shah, Abbas King of Persia, see Dow's Hindostan, vol. iii. pp. 401-402.

Tata, p. 425. According to Rennell it was the "capital of the province of Sindhy."

Tatabakar, p. 70. "Rennell calls it Belikar and gives the position as $270^{\circ} 12'$; its distance from Multan being 215 miles.

Tibet, Great and Little. Rennell in his Map of Hindoostan places Great Tibet at the S E of Cashmeer, and Little Tibet at N W. For the description of Great Tibet (extent, position, inhabitants, etc.) see sec. vi. of the "Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan."

To Little Tibet he gives the name of Balti-stan (Beluchistan?) see pp. 96-97, 137, 150.

Wine. Its sale illegal, p. 237, see the "fifth regulation" of Emperor Jehangir in his "Autobiographical Memoirs," p. 6 (Major David Price's translation.)

Women burn on the funeral pyre of their husbands, (Sutteeism) pp. 38, 287. Akbar tried to check it, see Abul Fazel's "Akbar-nama," vol. iii. p. 395. Jehangir put many restrictions, vide the Autobiographical Memoirs, p. 28-29.

APPENDIX II.

Bibliography.

The original Text is a big volume, containing the voyages of Tavernier, Berniër and other 'great men,' published in 1684. We have reprinted the Text of the present edition of Bernier's Travels from this edition. The title-page of the original edition is as follows :

COLLECTIONS | OF | TRAVELS | THROUGH |
TURKEY into PERSIA and the EAST-INDIES. | Giv-
ing an Account of the | Present State of those Countries. |
AS ALSO | A Full RELATION of the Five Years WARS,
between | *Aureng-Zebe* and his Brothers in their Father's
Life-time, about the | Succession. And a Voyage made by
the Great Mogol (*Aureng- | Zebe*) with his Army from
Dehli to *Lahor*, from *Lahor* to | *Bember*, and from thence
to the Kingdom of *Kachemire*, | by the Mogols, call'd,
The Paradise of the Indies. | TOGETHER | With a Rela-
tion of the Kingdom of JAPAN and TUNKIN, | and of their
particular Manners and Trade. | To which is added | A New
Description of the GRAND SEIGNIOR'S SERAGLIO, | and also
of the Kingdoms that encompass the *Euxine* and *Caspian*
Seas | BEING | The TRAVELS of Monsieur TAVERNIER BER-
NIER, | and other great Men : Adorned with many Copper
Plates. | *The Second Volume*. | LONDON, | Printed for
Moses Pitt at the *Angel* in *St Pauls Church-yard*. |
M. DC. XXXIV.

GLOSSARY

*List of a few obsolete words, words
peculiarly spelt and used.*

[Our endeavour is not to give an exhaustive and elaborate list to the entire satisfaction of scholastic readers, but to furnish a partial one, illustrating the irregularity and carelessness of the translator in Orthography and Typography throughout the text. We have given only one reference to the page of the text, as it is quite unnecessary to multiply the recurrence of the same expression]

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